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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

NOVEMBER 15, 1982

\$1.25

Beyond the Limits of Life



**The embryo
experiments**

**The babies
behind glass**

**The awesome
moral dilemma**

**Where are
the frontiers?**



NOVEMBER 15, 1982 VOL. 93 NO. 48



"We'd been to see Frauke and Dieter's Black Forest. Now it was time for them to see ours."

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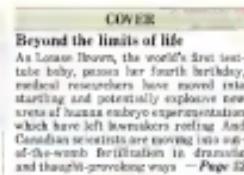
Tan Price. A taste to good friends.



A Lougheed bumper crop
Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed's election victory marked his finest hour and his toughest political fight. The question is can federal politics be far off? —Page 22



Battling an ailing giant
Despite some last-minute dramatics, Chrysler's 3,800 unemployed employees in Canada have launched a strike against the automaker which may run until January. —Page 47



Beyond the limits of life

As Louise Brown, the world's first test-tube baby, passes her fourth birthday, medical researchers have moved into a startling and potentially explosive new arena of human embryo experimentation which have left lawmakers reeling. And Canadian scientists are moving into artificial-insemination in dramatic and thought-provoking ways. —Page 32



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Vote of conditional support
The electrons sent a mixed signal to the White House: sig the peace but compromise on defense and social welfare. Ronald Reagan now faces some hard choices. —Page 34



Stardust on the stage
Actors William Holt and Robin Phillips, currently in *The Dresers*, a two-man play at the Vancouver Playhouse, manage to create from theatre magic. —Page 27

LETTERS

Trusting his nibs

The sight of Trudeau during his three-part address to the Senate was indeed pathetic (*A Question of Trust*, Cover, Nov. 11). Here is the man who, for most of his 14 years in office, has worked on the old tactic of divide and conquer, now asking Canadians to trust Canadians to trust each other—more than Trudeau himself. There is one person they do not trust any longer, and it is him.
—CHARLES PRATHER
Waterloo, N.S.

In just three short lines our leaders advanced a lot of ground. We moved from asking Canadians to "pull together" to "we're all in the same boat." Those unemployed or in welfare will have little to "pull together" this winter. Those working in factories and those stranded in Ottawa are not "in the same financial boat." One thing is certain when it comes to economic, the prime minister has shown that, as Canadians, we can rise to the occasion. Historically speaking, we can trust with the best of them. —LOU LAVERTY
Toronto

Reflections on God

In reference to Alden Nowlan's *Posthumous*, *The Gospel According to God*, in your Nov. 1 issue, I would like to comment. God is not God or God of God for the Alden Nowlan of the world. He is, veritably, a son of a man. Let us hope he does not get eaten by the Christians. —ED WESTBROOK WETTERSEN
Markham, Ont.

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PASSEGES

APPOINTED: Donald Jardineau, 61, is the position of High Commissioner in Britain. Jardineau, who spent 25% of his 13 years in the Liberal cabinet as minister for external affairs, will take up his London post in January. He replaces Jean Wadds, the Joe Clark appointee who helped guide the Constitution through the British Parliament at Westminster.

ELECTED: Ontario's New Democratic Party Leader Hubert Zhu, 54, to a seat in the provincial legislature. Zhu's election in Toronto's York South riding entitles him to leave the spectators' gallery, where he has been conducting business since assuming the party leadership nine months ago.

EXTRADITION ORDERED: Albert Rausch, 75, a Canadian citizen wanted by the West German government for Second World War crimes. In a landmark decision, Chief Justice George Evans rejected defense arguments that Rausch's extradition would contravene his rights to a hearing in Canada under the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

HEP: Academy Award-winning director King Walls Vidor, 87, in California, of a heart ailment. An innovative trailblazer, Vidor helped Hollywood make the transition from silent film to the talkies. *The Big Parade*, *The Champ* and *Northern Passage* were among Vidor's blockbusters.

ASSASSINATED: One of Spain's top field generals, Maj.-Gen. Victor Lasa Rojas, 55, by suspected Basque terrorists in Madrid. Rojas's murder occurred despite tightened security surrounding the Papal's 10-day tour of Spain.

REBELLION: Santiago Carrillo, 67, leader of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), at the heels of the PCE's disastrous performance in Spain's October elections. Accused of being a duce by his own followers, Carrillo, a leading Stalinist, was the only survivor of the 1936-39 Civil War to lead a major Spanish party.

DEAD: Eric Arthur, 84, architect, author and preservationist of the past, in a Toronto hospital, of heart failure. Arthur's book, *No Mean City*, a chronicle of Toronto's architectural heritage, became the gospel for preservationists in their fight against developers during the 1960s. A former professor at the University of Toronto and a companion of the Order of Canada, Arthur had lived in Canada since 1925 after emigrating from his native New Zealand.

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B.C. teachers no slaves

I am sorry to see Madam's dutifully repeating the party line of the B.C. Teachers Federation, which has promoted an imaginary education crisis here in order to embarras the government and enhance the chances of the new (S.O.S. From the Lamp of Learning, Canada, Oct. 10). Our teachers now make an average of \$30,000 for a working year of about 180 days. That is about \$600 a week, and you see that as "slavery"? The facts that education in British Columbia is generally funded and teachers are relatively well paid can readily be checked. Unfortunately, these facts seem to have people

—SAM CARS
Victoria

Gould: a wonderful man

Thank you for your sensitive coverage of the untimely death of Canada's beloved musical genius Glenn Gould (Ottawa Citizen, 1812-1982, Cover, Oct. 10). The cover photograph was excellent, and the story revealed to us what a wonderful man we had in our midst. It is comforting to think that he must have accomplished more in just 58 years than most men of exceptional talent could have done in a long life.

—CATHERINE BAKER
Victoria

Lessons in German

Does Canada's national newsmagazine not have a single staffer with a proper knowledge of one of the world's most important languages? Unsurprisingly in Germany it is German, not English, that is more widely spoken (as is also spelled it in German). After all, and *Wirtschaftswunder* and *Deutschland* like all German nouns, must be capitalized. Also, as we see Jew to another, I salute Rick Salatin for his Oct. 11 *Postmedia*, *Post's* Hastings East Laught

—LEO HERZSTEIN
Vancouver

Thank you for your sober story on West Germany. Political developments are always interesting in Germany because of its strategic position between East and West.

Theouting of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is definitely a loss, and the fact that his government was replaced by this method of a "constructive coalition" instead of a legitimate election is appalling. Schmidt was a strong, intelligent leader. He was the first post-war German leader not afraid to be combative, shrewd and frank, especially of the mischievousness emanating from the east. Schmidt had a surreal link between Moscow and Washington, always silent in his support for NATO but, at the same time, pursuing an open dialogue and understanding with the Soviets (instead of the "ruthless" and

ungrammatical battle Ronald Reagan is now waging). I hope that the new chancellor continues to pursue Germany's unswerving commitment to democracy through the current economic uncertainty.

—MARK ALLAN
Victoria, B.C.

Taking responsibility for flaws

In his otherwise fine review of my novel your reviewer blames some of the book's perceived weaknesses on the editor (A Skeleton Uncovered, Books, Oct. 20). However, if I am to take credit for the strengths he finds in the book, then I must also accept responsibility for its flaws. *Perpetual Motion* was edited with grace and a persistent intelligence that did much to make the book work as well as it does.

—GEORGE O'BRIEN
Toronto

Unfairly condemning Israel

In his Oct. 11 *Postmedia*, Rick Salatin says, "The PLO deserves recognition" (indeed, all people are entitled to national self-determination). But, when the Jews exercise that right, they are said to be committing the crimes of racism and imperialism. Similarly, any nation has the right to ensure the security of its borders. When Israel exercises this right, it is condemned for committing the crime of aggression. So, too, Israel is the only state in the world that is required to prove that its very existence is in immediate peril before it can justify the use of force. In 1967 the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba was sufficient to justify the use of force to remove them. Yet the vast majority of PLO officials are in no danger. Let me assure you that the PLO does not and does not intend to encourage the use of explosive force to allow Israel to, in northern Israel, the same privileges of security as Americans enjoy. Amiad refused to agree to this, but forced the Jews of Israel to live in a constant state of siege. Despite this, Israel, founded as a democracy, has remained a democracy—the only true one in the Middle East and one of the remaining few left on this earth.

—MARK SILVERSTEIN
Executive Director,
Canadian Jewish Congress,
Pacific Region,
Vancouver

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If genocide is the aim of the Israelis, then they have an old way of going about it. And, truly, why would Hitler utter one last, harsh laugh? Because no Jew is accusing other Jews of the totally unpunished and heinous crime of genocide.

—PETER GOLD
Toronto

ignorance of facts should not excuse, but playwrights, like children, may be forgiven. What, however, of the editor of a newspaper? Upon reading Salzman's article, it would seem appropriate to remove *Padman* "Reapkin."

—HEATHER DUNPHY,
Westmount, Que.

Embarrassed by swimmers

As a Canadian living in Australia, I find the Canadian swimming team walkout at the recent Commonwealth Games childish and embarrassing (Patriotic Third in a Small Pool, *Toronto Star*, Oct. 18). Especially embarrassing was the chair-linking act by Walter Taaffe, which received wide television coverage here. Some Canadian swimmers should be reminded that they are representing their country, not their own egos.

—J. HANLEY
Clifford Beach, Queensland, Australia

Toward saving the nation

Harold for Diana Cohen and her Right Steps to Save the Nation (Column, Oct. 18). The federal Conservative party should adopt these steps plus the following: abolish the external affairs department and 95 per cent of our embassies, get out of the nuclear reactor business, adopt the policy of one official language, and abolish the capital gains tax. Has the Conservative party the guts to take such action?

—D. BAKER
Ottawa

It is time that all members of all parties who agree with Diana Cohen's column rallied behind her call for sensible change. There must be some way each individual who feels so important alone can join with others to make his small effort in the wilderness into a lion's roar that will be heard across the land. Then maybe we could get a responsible government to power, when, if we were lucky, would come Diana Cohen.

—A. B. HEPFRAUVE,
Jewettville, Ont.

Diana Cohen's advice for managing the economy seems wise. Instead of making the lowest-income people suffer for the massive rot in our economy, we should encourage tens of thousands of tiny new industries to replace the "dinosaur" companies. I would suggest we cheapsear for two years to people starting such industries and make small low-interest loans available to keep them from going

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into debt. I would simplify the tax laws and close up loopholes and I would stop subsidizing moribund giants.

— RICHARD LEWIN
McAfee Corp., N.Y.

Your columnist Dix Cohen certainly revealed her true colors when she advocated eliminating corporation taxes and selling off Crown corporations. Color her red, white and star-spangled USA-a capitalist-corporate gangster. It is amazing that people can still advocate such an extremist, thoroughly discredited system. — R.D. FRITH

1000-2010

Irritating male appearance

The male arrogance reflected in the author's discussion of the plight of the Domes of Bedbury is irritating, to put it mildly. *Under the Shadow of the*

1963 leaving China for Japan to see *Nikko's Giant*, *The Canada*, Oct. 18). Shuren Dozen receives brief mention, but from then on it is Jin who suffers in Asia

modest house with his seven children. I find it tragic that only in the case of marital breakdown are the wife's economic and other contributions to her family recognized. — G. VAN HOUTTE, *Charleroi, Belgium*

Group One

Hunting big game in Canada

About George Weidensiek's Oct. 18 Position, *Teasing Arms or the Master*. I have only one thing to say: allowing magnum hunters to come into System Plateau Wilderness Park to practice their greed is one of the most immoral acts that we who call ourselves Canadians can commit. Let us continue to support Greenpeace and the like who realize that we must be stewards of that which was given to us. —JIM MCNAUL

Münster, Ost.

Sixty-two animals were taken out of a 12-million acre park in 1968. Does the B.C. Ministry of Agriculture pay as much as \$3,000 for each animal killed on the roads? Are these 62 hornbills also rich men who would seem to be contributing to the staggering Canadian expenditure in the work of health, education, welfare, roads, hospitals, parasites, predators, arranged child marriage, and diseases? Or are they agents of the rich men themselves who are rapidly declining at a rate of one per year? (See my article for *Cooperative* in 1968, Goodness, or They Will be gone before My Woodsick's "extraordinary gestational effects" happen. Since the poor beast, Pat Green, is a god in Bermuda, And poor Green, England is with them.

—36 McDONNELL,
Lumberton, South

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HENKES

Revelations from the corridors of power

With the exception of a brief respite from power in 1979, Pierre Trudeau and his Liberal allies have managed to win elections and hold court since 1968. Still, the composite prime minister in nearly the last 15 years is an almost unknown list of Liberal "survivors"—men who have used and been used by a party that has forged remarkable alliances of clout throughout the past century. Christina McCall-Newman, a new war book, *Greedy: An Intimate Portrait of the Liberal Party*, takes a devastating look at Liberal party history by focusing on Trudeau and the first after him. She also has the greatest effect on the party and the nation in modern times. Ottawa lawmaker Justice Mary Joigan spoke with McCall-Newman in her Toronto office.

McCall-Newman: Your book appears to be a tragedy with the message that power corrupts. Is this indeed the case?

McCall-Newman: It is tragic to think that each of these men entered public life with a sense of mission and then had his ideals bent by the realities of politics. But corruption is too strong a word. I don't think any of my protagonists—Pierre Trudeau, John Turner, Keith Davey, Marc Lalonde, Michael Pitfield, Jim Goods—was corrupt. But, certainly, power corrupts ideals. Power bends it twists people. The Liberal party always sees itself as a return party. Each of these men started out talking about reform, each thought he knew the answers. What was fascinating is how watershed their careers evolve was how the answers they started out with got twisted.

McCall-Newman: What has the Liberal party become?

McCall-Newman: The central theme of the book is that Canada is run by a coalition of élites—an alliance of power-called the Liberal party. Trudeau's failure as party leader has been his inability to hold on to the writers and business wing of that alliance. He is alienated with Quebec but let them go. So what we have now is a disintegrating Liberal party divided into Central Canada. But, even in their depleted state, the Liberals cannot be counted out—they have a strong pull on the Canadian imagination, as the legacies of Canadian



McCall-Newman: power bends and corrupts ideals

Macdonald King invented the modern Liberal party to hold the country together, and Liberals keep trying to reinvent the party to the same end.

MacLean's: Can we take the principal characters and follow them from where they began to where they have ended up? *Greedy* starts with the now-de-retired *Post* Council clerk, Michael Pitfield.

McCall-Newman: Having come from a very privileged Montreal background,

television's ideal model. He simply did not understand the whole messy business of human affairs. He felt that it was possible to get a highly rationalistic cabinet committee system to work without having to take into account how its participants actually felt and behaved.

MacLean's: Trudeau's former principal secretary Jim Goods?

McCall-Newman: A smart little guy from the West. He rode into Ottawa bright-eyed and full of schemes for getting on. He worked hard, he had energy. He wanted to learn from everybody, that was very surprising. I think what he learned is that he became less clever by half. He lost sight of a number of basic principles. While Pitfield was caught by being too intellectually committed in a formula, Goods was not intellectually or ideologically committed to much of anything except success. Canadians will put up with a certain amount of that but they want you to stand for something.

MacLean's: Liberal strategists Stewart Keith Davey

McCall-Newman: He fell in love with a whole series of Kennedy-style electoral techniques and became a wise-giving technician. American show was important to a man of the '60s, who was an advertising sales manager in Toronto, living on the fringes of politics. But you have to recognize that, by those techniques, Davey brought the Liberals back twice—in 1974 and 1980—from what people thought was certain electoral defeat. In those terms he has been very successful. He was not overly political, but he knew what he wanted was an interesting life, a good time, and he had a wonderful time. After the 1986 election there were two great moments. He went to represent the prime minister at a World Series baseball game and stood in Yankee Stadium with a half-placed *Canada*. And he spent a morning in Washington with the *Post's* editor, Ben Bradlee, and Ted Kennedy and his staff. They talked to him about how he was "too gay"—Trudeau being "too gay."

These are touchstone moments for Davey. He has also been the least altered by power because he was, in

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many ways, the least ruthless
McGillivray's Trudeau?

McCormick: One of the great Canadian theorems. One of the great Canadian stories will be Trudeau and his tragedy. His fatal flaw was pride, his terrible self-aggrandizement. He is a man who seems to be an exclusively obsessed with implementing his own political theory that he fails to recognize what he has done to other people in the process. He cannot admit that he might be wrong. I admire the rigor with which he formulated his ideas. I respect his religious commitment. He went into politics with a passionate motives. But he had a need to dramatize himself, to turn himself into something he was not. That proved to be his undoing. He was never that sexy, innocent, consider everybody who was dandied by in 1968. He made a myth about himself that he could not sustain. Certainly she was very beautiful.

boys" of the Liberal past.

McCormick: Why so little emphasis on Trudeau's Trudeau?

McGillivray: I thought she had said it all about herself. I find her interesting only in terms of the fact that her class has. Now I could believe that the marriage of such disparate people was going to work? Perhaps she was just so completely uninterested about talking that she overcame her disparate shyness. Certainly she was very beautiful.

Marc Lalonde's very rigidity is scary to his opponents, as is his confidence in his own infallibility

and seems always to have been important to him. He used to call women "babes." I remember asking him a dinner once in the '80s and having him place back and say, "Can I bring a babe?" He was then 47 years old! Margaret Sinclair seems to have had the nerve to be part of his drama but neither the depth nor the self-control to sustain the role.

Westmore: Why do you describe former finance minister John Turner as being

20 years out of date?

McCormick: Turner made all the right moves even for his time, and he did very well. He was an incredible success. Yet the sense of the times, the atmosphere of his post has eluded him. And I do not think there was ever any question in his mind that he was after the ultimate prize. There is certainly a strong body of opinion that he will still be prime minister. But I see him as an anachronistic figure. Those who support him are those who take a view of Canada that does not hold anymore, that you can solve our problems by a few guys in the cabinet and the bureaucracy conferring with a few guys in the business community. He is a Liberal capitalist whose ideas were formed when Canadian society was simpler. He is not as intellectual, but he is what the bureaucrats call "a fast brief." You can teach Turner all kinds of things. But he is stuck in the mind-set of 1967, stuck in seeing CD Howe as the ideal political man. He thinks you can manage Canadian society as though it were a man's club, and I'm not sure you can anymore.

MacDonald: What about Finance Minister Marc Lalonde?

McCormick: He is enormously capable. He is able to take hold of a problem. For instance, he turned his mind to energy questions and created the most



Pिरेन, च्रेटिन और टर्नर: अधिकारी के नियन्त्रण की गतिशीलता की लाज

significant Liberal innovation of the Trudeau era against concerted opposition. He is loyal. He never gives up. He has never given up on Trudeau. When he was a young man he was deeply committed to those wonderful '60s ideals about internationalism and Catholicism. He was genuinely concerned for the wretched of the earth. Now he has become a hard man, a pliant. In some

ways his principles are discrediting because they are so unbearable. Lalonde's very rigidity is scary to his opponents, as is his confidence in his infallibility.

MacDonald: What type of government does Trudeau lead today?

McCormick: I think you can describe the Liberals as practicing case more the politics of desperation. Trudeau is again leading a government that

is simply trying to hang on to power. Liberals always have their problems in terms of the first two years of an electoral mandate, when they can bring about innovations, and the last two years, when they consolidate as preparation for an election. And they did do some innovative things from 1980 to early 1982, particularly on the SNC and the Canadian. It was a renewal. But now, in the face of the terrible state of the economy, they cannot consolidate. They have to retreat. The description in my book of the winter of 1989 seems to me like a description of the winter of 1982-83. With Six-and-Five they have become electro-machine technicians again. I remember writing in 1979, when they last had election, that I had seen a political generation rise and fall in a way that is happening here in a replay with that same generation—which scrambled back to power in 1980—going down for a second time. When I finished, I had the feeling, my God, does life teach us nothing more than that old virtue that the young set out with ideals that are dashed by the realities of politics and then turn into the kind of mature men that you would never have imagined them becoming; that in every young Turk there lurks a reactionary, an every "new guard" the "old guard" of tomorrow? ◇



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The quest for a Sikh state



Sikhs' Golden Temple in Amritsar: cigarettes burnt thrown in inner chambers

By Carol Off

The sun rises at 5 each morning to keep his appointment with God. As the high priest of a Hindu temple in downtown Amritsar in India's fertile Punjab state, he must visit the shrine to invoke Sri, the god

of destruction, by gently ringing bells, chanting and gazing. No lamps are burning to light the priest's way through the dark streets, where homeless people huddle in the patterns and doorways. They sleep in confidence that the holy man will stir Siva from his dreams, and the day will begin as it has

for thousands of years. On the hot, smoggy morning of April 26, however, India awoke to a brutal shock. On the doorstep of the temple, the punjabis found the spiked and bleeding heads of two cows, which the Hindus regard as the sacred source of all life.

The desecration—the work of the Dal Khalsa, a fanatical band of orthodox Sikhs modelled on the Palestine Liberation Organization—was the first blow to the troubled people of Punjab. Two years of murder, kidnappings and sabotage had already crippled industry in the state and shaken the Indian government to no known. But another desecration, this one of a shrine to the east of the city, since then, has fanned tensions between Hindus and Sikhs, who have had a relative honeymoon for centuries. Throughout the summer, cows' tails were strown on pathways, rocks wrapped in towels were hurled through windows, and people severed cows' ears in the mall. The Hindus retaliated with lobses, regarded as an evil substance by the Sikhs. They marched through the streets with explosive packages stuck on the ends of spears and threw cigarette butts into the inner chambers of the Sikhs' most sacred Golden Temple.

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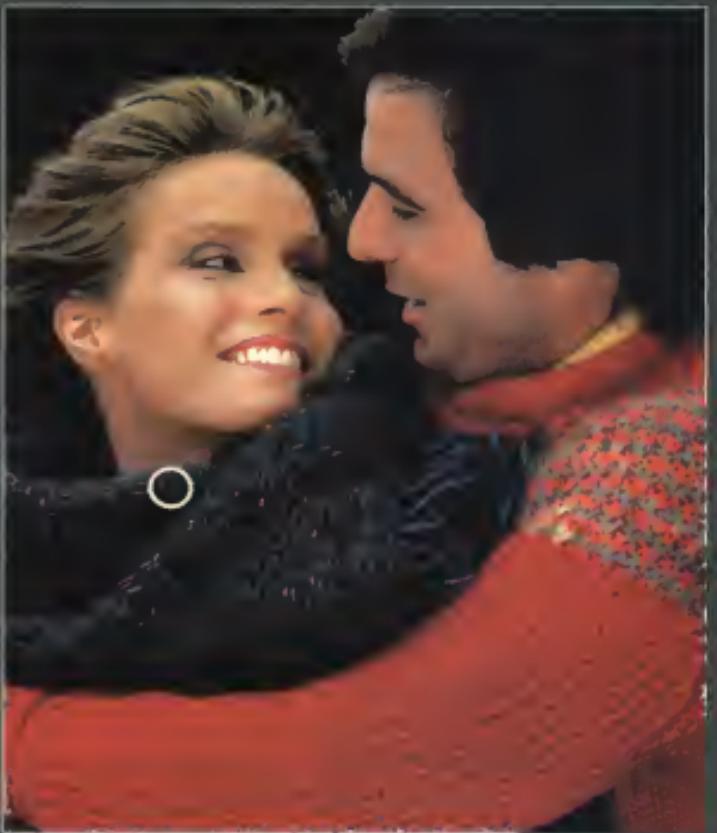
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Minda with sacred cow, spiked and bleeding heads, cows' ears sent in the mail

India's 33 million Sikhs, a traditionally peaceful, prosperous minority, are protesting openly. Frustrated by the failure of the central government to respond to demands for greater political autonomy, thousands of Sikhs stormed the central parliament in Delhi, armed with swords and bricks. In recent weeks 25,000 Sikhs have been swept up in mass arrests. The news magazine *India Today* described the situation as one of "communal hatred," an autocratic administration and an increasingly nervous populace. The Janjawis, who are holding Punjab to ransom can congratulate themselves on a job well done.

Sikhs, identifiable by their turbans and long, uncut hair (a word), are a 500-year-old splinter group of the Hindus, born out of the need for an aggressive fraternal army to battle northern conquerors. Although the two sects have rarely come to blows, they differ radically in ethics and ideology. Because the country and the state of Punjab are governed by Hindus, over 80% of Sikhs feel misrepresented and discriminated against from Hindu "imperialists." Although Sikhs make up only two per cent of the population in India, they preside over 50% of Punjab. A group of amateur Sikhs, the "Anti-Dal," have been holding picketing negotiations with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi since 1974 as a set of 45 secular and religious reforms that would essentially turn the Punjab into a Sikh state. They want more industry, more rail connections and the right to sell grain at world prices (the central government now keeps prices artificially low). They also want Amritsar to be declared a holy city and the name of the trans-Panjab town to be changed from the *Daily Mail* to the *Golden Temple*.

The Anti-Dal has pressed for greater political independence within India, but the radical Dal Khalsa favors complete separation. It seeks to turn the Punjab into a fundamentalist religious country for all Sikhs, to be called Khalsa Singh Sahib. Gajendra Singh, a leader of the radicals, who are mostly young men from rural communities with little formal education, "like the PLO, we are seeking international recognition and we are prepared to use terror, the political language of the 20th century."

As the violence mounts, the authorities are unable—or unwilling—to stop it. The Punjab police have unleashed a tyranny of their own, forcing rural factions within the Hindus and the Sikhs into subordination as a means of self-preservation. Police have arrested and tortured women and elderly relatives of Sikh radicals, who have responded and even feed on Hindu and Sikh's wife taking part in their demonstrations, killing at least 34 people. But, as the police move on the general public, with apparent

Gandhi releasing a plane



15

impunity, they have been reluctant to act against the Dal Khalsa leaders, many of whom operate from the Sikhs' sacred Golden Temple. Punjabis are in such awe of the terrorists that police are afraid even to enter the temple. When Dal Khalsa activists gained control seven sleepers were found May 11; took the palce 30 minutes to arrive from a station 150 m away.

The Hindu-dominated government of Punjab, which rules from Chandigarh, a city hundreds of kilometers from Amritsar, has lost control of the police and of the state. Civil servants say they feel

completely powerless; one claims that "each of us has become only a suspect in the eyes of the people." The state's home minister announced in early October that "peace and calm prevails in Punjab." Shortly afterward, he narrowly escaped death from two hand grenades.

All eyes have turned to the central government to save the Punjab. Velinder Singh, Gaddi's Congress Party, has accused of treason. Gaddi has claimed that she helped to fight the Dal Khalsa because it is secretly a foreign plot, controlled by the CIA and funded

by affluent Sikhs in Canada and the United States. President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has said that the Dal Khalsa "only wants to serve the interests of foreign masters by fomenting trouble."

Such accusations are wild enough to capture the imaginations of Indians who have conspiracy theories. But the government's indifference to the terrorist problem. During eight years of negotiations with the Congress Sikhs, Gaddi has refused to yield on this critical point. In part, the difference is one of historical plausibility. The Sikhs believe that religious and secular law are inseparable. As the head of the Congress Party, which has ruled almost without interruption since independence in 1947, Gaddi has attempted to make India secular, socialist and democratic. Many people believe that her progressive attitudes are not advanced; even for modern India. Says Dev Singh, a young Punjabi businessman: "India's constitution may be secular, but when Mrs. Gandhi doesn't realize that India will always be a theocracy."

The summer negotiations broke down completely, a development that has brought the moderates closer to the radicals. A *Times of India* editorial states that "whether the Akalis are themselves to blame for the sudden breakdown in talks is not relevant. The fact is that it has driven the moderate Akalis into a position where they can no longer condone acts of malice and terrorism by extremists." Indeed, the impasse has led many more Sikhs to believe that their only recourse is civil war. Older Sikhs still tend to revisit the

page of *Amritsar*, remembering the bloody partition of 1947 when the British handed off a chunk of the Punjab to India. Sikhs lost the Massacre. They fear that Khalistan could endow similar savagery and hatred. As a result, he says, "The young radicals could never be won over by a mere rational argument. That is why Gaddi could never be won over." The young, however, are swayed by the death of their heritage and are willing to make every effort to protect it. So their parents, who have watched the government turn its back on the Sikhs, have quietly endorsed the ambitions of youth.

Meanwhile, the Dal Khalsa has announced that it will step up its acts of violence this winter and has threatened kidnapping in an effort to gain more world recognition for Khalistan. There have been two more airplane hijackings in recent weeks, and thousands of illegal arms (supplied from Sikhs in Canada) are in the hands of the radicals. The state general secretary has pleaded with Indira Gandhi for help, saying, "The Punjab is on fire today, and we must make every effort to save it." So far, Gandhi shows little sign that she is prepared to act. ♦



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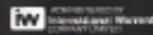


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determination to preserve payques that has created some renewed friction between senior management and union bosses. But both sides admit that their chronically poor relationship has shown overall improvement. Warren proudly points out that the post office has lost only 97.3 person-days of work through labor disruptions since its debut as a corporation. Throughout 1981 it had lost a staggering 963,280 person-days by Oct. 16. Though eight union contracts were due to be renegotiated during the next six months, Warren refuses to speculate on the possibility of a strike—

made illegal with the passage of the Six-and-Five wage restraint package last summer.

The new president puts heavy emphasis on health and safety issues—he has encouraged more regular meetings of a national union-management committee on the problem. And he has overhauled such needless irritants as an irrational payroll system that was said to contain 25,000 permanent mistakes, including repetitive deductions and incorrect social insurance numbers.

It is not, however, all sweetness and light. CUPW reports that grievances are

running at approximately the same rate as they did before the corporation's birth on these contract clauses alone, there were 1,086 complaints between Oct. 16, 1981, and Aug. 15 of this year. "With top management, there is a sense that things are done differently," concedes CUPW President Jean-Claude Parent. "But, for its postal workers, we are still in a situation where there is no change, because local management can still overrule what is directed by top management." Parent is also on a collision course with Warren over the issue of layoffs. He says that they are not permitted under the contract. And he charges that Warren is trying to rattle union members who are worried about job security. Parent insists that the post office should solve its financial problems by snapping such services as the special bulk rates for preserved mail. "But their biggest goal has become financial self-sufficiency," he charges. "Services and labor management are not important."

It is that businesslike attitude that has soured the post office's fewest critics—its business customers. Stan Hughes, president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, lauds the corporation's new, tough approach to its deficit. He also notes that there have been some service improvements. "We are prepared, given these tries to improve their service, but previous little time is available," he says. "The mail is so important to the small-business community. A lot of companies are predominantly close to the bank and they rely on it." Business customers point out that post office officials are aggressively marketing carrier services such as Priority Post and electronic mail ventures such as Intercept and Telegest in a continuing bid to cut the deficit.

Meanwhile, the post office's greatest enemy may be its bad reputation. John Balach, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, says that informal interviews with his members this past summer showed that 80 per cent of them feel that there have been no service improvements. "It is typical that in Fort McMurray, for example, about four people shouted, 'If you send me something, take the postal code off, or I will have to go to Edmonton to be cleared,'" says Balach. "We have to give Warren time. We can't really judge how things are going until the results of an efficient management team work their way down the system. But there are so many open wounds left from the 1981 crow-42 strike—it is something hard to be patient."

That continuing image problem is precisely why Warren's most difficult job during the next four years may be to ensure that "mail" is no longer a four-letter word. ☐

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FOLLOW-UP

Justice on trial

Mark MacGuigan, then Canada's minister of external affairs, with the Senate Judge after with Alexander Haig, then the U.S. secretary of state. John Chretien, then Canadian justice minister, took it up with William French Smith, the U.S. attorney general. Alan Gotlieb, Canada's ambassador to the United States, has raised the subject a dozen times, presenting several scores of firm diplomatic protest. And last August Ottawa formally delivered a 68-page list of demands to the Canadian U.S. department of justice. It is still awaiting a response with mounting impatience and impatience. More than a year after it all began, the Haig matter continues to be a festering wound in Canada-U.S. relations, involving basic principles of international law and delicate questions of bilateral diplomacy.

Jeffre, a 37-year-old Canadian lawyer and land developer, was forcibly abducted from the streets of downtown Toronto on Sept. 23, 1981, by two U.S. bounty hunters and flown to Florida in face 26 counts of violating the state's Land Sales Practices Law. He was summarily convicted, fined \$150,000, and

Jeffre an unusually stiff audience



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sentenced to 50 years in prison—an unusually stiff sentence for the crime. Pending appeal, Jaffa is serving time in Avila Park, a medium-to-maximum security institution in central Florida.

From the start Ottawa has argued that Jaffa's conviction be set aside and that he be returned to Canada. His abduction, the Canadian legal brief contends, violates the U.S.-Canada extradition treaty, which normally governs the transfer of fugitives from one jurisdiction to the other. In denying the request so far, the U.S. justice department has cited the doctrine known as *Ker Prashad*, now nearly a century old. Under it, U.S. judges tend to oppose efforts committed to bringing an accused to justice—provided he receives due process in court. If crimes are committed in the apprehension of fugitives, the proper recourse, *Ker Prashad* suggests, is not to free properly convicted felons but to prosecute the kidnappers separately. Jaffa's kidnappers—U.S. residents Dean Karp and Team Johnson—are now appealing extradition rulings; the Reagan administration is attempting to return them both to Canadian authorities, but the U.S. appeal process can take several to ten months or even years, another source of potential friction.

But *Ker Prashad* is automatically extended to the central Canadian complaint: *Ker Prashad*, Canada argues, may limit an individual's claim to asylum, but it is irrelevant to the basic right of Canada to grant or withhold asylum under the extradition treaty. That treaty has been violated because Karp and Johnson acted with the express consent, indeed at the urging, of Florida officials. On one occasion a lawyer acting for the bonding agency that had originally put up the \$27,000 bail for Jaffa (which he subsequently skipped) was told by state investigators: "Why don't you tell us to get him?" Since efforts to extradite Jaffa were bogged down in paperwork, however, the case is buttressed by another decision in which the U.S. Supreme Court stated, "If the state court should fail to give due effect to the rights of the party under the treaty, a remedy is found in the judicial branch of the federal government." That remedy would be either a writ of amar or a writ of habeas corpus.

It is precisely that argument to which Jaffa, his family, his lawyers and the government of Canada have been awaiting answer. The U.S. state department is thought to be sympathetic to Canada's view, if not of another crisis in Canadian-U.S. relations. On the other hand, U.S. justice officials have refused to consider the legal merit of Ottawa's argument—argued by Washington lawyer Axel Kieberstein. They are concerned about the consequences for *Ker Prashad* and not eager to

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Alberta Premier Lougheed and wife, Jeanne, on election night. *Maclean's* photo

CANADA

Lougheed harvests a bumper crop

By Gordon Legge

When Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed took a long sabbatical from the campaign after his triumphant electoral victory last week, it was an opportunity to savor one of his finest hours and to reflect on the future. After calling an election at the height of a recession in a province darkly clouded by discontent, Lougheed's decisive win served as political vindication for his decade-long performance as premier. As he walked, he may have reflected on the memory of his grandfather, Senator James Lougheed, who arrived in Calgary a century ago. As Lougheed noted, at stage along the campaign trail, Sir James rose to prominence in Ottawa as leader of the Senate and Alberta's first Conservative cabinet minister. Whether Lougheed will bring the family's destiny full circle is uncertain, but the call for him to enter federal politics has never been louder—within his own

organization and the federal party. "I think he's taking a buck of a good look at it," said a Tory insider in the aftermath of the election.

Lougheed's victory flamed from the toughest political fight since he arrived in power in 1971. And, despite Alberta's frustration about the sudden loss in the economic boom, voters overwhelmingly endorsed Lougheed's management of the economy. In its stride with the federal government and his vision of a "family of Canadians" putting its "two shoes" in the process, Lougheed dominated the opposition, in particular the separatist Western Canada Congress, which did not win a single seat and captured only 11 percent of the vote. Above all, the sweeping mandate puts Alberta in position to lead the country's economic and political renaissance. "I believe that we've got the basic strength through our renewable and sustainable resources and hard-working people to play an ever-increasing role in the country's economic activity," Lougheed

told Maclean's. Alberta, he added, can be an example to the rest of Canada by "showing how effective the free enterprise system is."

Lougheed triumphed in an election that produced a surprising 345 candidates and perhaps from both ideological extremes. Opponents on the left attacked the government as being uncaring, at a time when 91,000 are unemployed. A splintered crop of candidates on the right accused Lougheed of drifting toward socialism and conspiring with an inefficient federal government. A mood of apathy prevailed from one corner of the province to the other as Albertans debated politics in a way they had not done for years. "People want a change but they're not sure what they want to change to," said Bert Tess, a St. Paul heavy equipment operator.

But, when the votes were in, it was clear that the more things changed, the more they stayed the same. On election day, as the province's farmers ploughed under their fields of harvested grain, Lougheed and his Tory government were all opposite the center-left of Alberta's 78 ridings. They grabbed 60 percent of the popular vote, the lowest in provincial history, after a plus-sized 60 per cent (compared to 57.7 per cent in 1979) of the province's 51 election voters cast their ballots. The outcome exceeded even the premier's private expectations. When the legislature convenes, probably early in the new year, there will be only five members to question the government. New Democratic Party Leader Grant Notley, NDP president Roy Martin and two Independents, former Social Credit house leader Ray Spender and former Social MLA Walter Black.

Having established his reign in a one-party state, Lougheed will start his term with hopes of rebuilding the economy. Don Johnston, the federal economic development minister, welcomes the prospect. As he said at a recent Liberal and fund-raising dinner in Calgary: "Alberta, in the oil and gas sector, is going to be the locomotive for the turnaround in our economy." In the recent update of Ottawa's National Energy Progress, the federal government estimated that federal oil and gas revenues will fall a massive \$25 billion short of the mark anticipated in the energy agreement with Alberta in 1981—one of the reasons being that the accumulated national debt is expected to hit the \$135-billion mark next year. Not surprisingly, the federal government is ac-



Prairie harvest (left) and MDP Leader Grant Notley, great expectations

utely quashing natural gas exports. In addition, the West's welcome Finance Minister Marc Lalonde's recent pledge to spend \$400 million on railway improvements—feeding agricultural groups can reach agreement on revised Cenex grain rates—as a vital move for the national economy. The chief beneficiaries are western grain farmers and shippers of raw materials such as asphalt, potash, potashorex and coal. Finally, the federal government is also working with Alberta and other western governments and businesses to remove regulatory bottlenecks and other impediments to economic recovery in the West.

Meanwhile, Lougheed has big plans for Alberta. He aims to encourage the oil and gas industry, promote petrochemical upgrading and develop and broaden the processing of agricultural products. He also wants the province to maintain its pre-eminence as the West's financial centre and to provide a solid base for the development of high-technology and biotechnology manufacturing industries in Alberta. "We want to make Alberta the brain power centre of Canada," says the premier.

Lougheed is convinced that a strong Alberta economy will strengthen the province's claim within Confederation and, thereby, the leadership in Western Canada, thereby boosting the national economy. In the Alberta business leaders' brief to the federal government, it becomes more conciliatory toward western business, says Bob Blair, presi-

dent of Suncor, an Alberta Corporation. "I think there is a growing recognition in Ottawa," says Blair, "that Alberta business and projects and investment can be an asset of the real sources of strength for Canada as a whole." From his 24th-floor corner office in downtown Calgary, Blair expresses hope for

more co-operation among industry and all governments. "I would certainly like to see Canada pulling together. I would like to see much more loyalty to the Canadian way of doing things." If the vision comes true, Lougheed's personal ambition for the country may well come to pass. As the premier observes: "We have got to get the world looking at Canada again as a good place to invest."

Although the popular vote was an overwhelming show of confidence for Lougheed's policies, during the election there was a ringing cry for an effective opposition to hold the government accountable. The call reached such a pitch in the final days of the campaign that the Tories were forced to remind electors that they were voting for a government, not an opposition. As Tory minister Jim Darling commented: "We all agree on the need for a good opposition but we all hope the opposition will be in somebody else's area." Despite the rebuke of opposition parties, there is still room for a new party to emerge. "In Alberta today you have a tremendous political vacuum," said Senator Ernest Manning, who was Alberta's Social Credit premier for 25 years. The fact that Lougheed says he intends to step down in a few years likely will make his party more vulnerable. While there are many reasons to the changes there are few against him who have Lougheed's political bona fides. Against him, dealing with the immediate economic concerns, Lougheed's next big task will be to lay the groundwork for a leader-

skip transition. Meanwhile, the premier, who believes in being a "team player," persistently denies he has any federal ambitions.

Leighfield's astute began preparations for the fall election only a few months ago. The general and his colleagues, however, argued for as long with the strategy was with Ottawa, criss-crossed the province to re-establish contact with the grassroots. Then, in September, he produced a \$1-million package of mortgage aid and subsidized loans for small-business owners and farmers, as well as an assortment of other economic programs. (By voting day, it was all parties combined had promised goodies totaling \$4 billion.) They candidates attended an election school at the RBC Centre where they doctored buttons reading: **DOOR TO DOOR ALL DAY EVERY DAY**. The Conservative campaign was an exercise in hard work and precision. Nowhere was this more true than in Highwood, where the Tory candidate, Murray Algar, 38, a long-time area farmer, faced NDP Leader Gerdie Keeler. While Algar kept to a strict schedule of door-knocking, Keeler ran a high-profile campaign. The Conservatives' gaudy blue and Day-Glo orange campaign literature was a sharp contrast to the NDP advertising, some of which consisted of hand-lettered signs and mimeographed leaflets. On election day Algar's supporters took off "soot" names as they hit the polls, refusing names of those who had not yet voted to high-jack the count. A squad of 700 men and a tank of telephones helped to pull out the vote. In the end, Algar won 7,568 votes, almost double Keeler's 3,967.

The pattern of defeat occurred across the province. No one was more dispirited by the outcome than NDP leader Noltey, whose campaign had been in the planning stage since the last election. Two years ago Noltey and his followers flew to Washington to discuss election campaign tactics with a senior Democratic party organizer, Tom Brooker, the party's provincial secretary and campaign manager. Hefted an advanced course in campaign management at Ohio's Kent State University, picking up some pointers in the process. By the end of May, the NDP had produced several 30-second television spots and flagged their name—the absence of opposition and jobs, and the Heritage Fund. The NDP kept these powder dry, and gave as little of the massive media campaign to come.

When they came, the ads portrayed New Democrats as ordinary Albertans and attempted to shrink their image as radicals. NDP canvassers charted an constituency vote that ranged from 30 to 80 per cent, and some campaign organizers were predicting victory in as many as 22 seats. At campaign headquarters

in Edmonton the mood was unusually buoyant. Midway through the campaign, Noltey gushed: "We're an amateur, but we're noontime." His ultimate forecast was short-lived. On election night, his early victory was doubtful until 9:45 p.m., when the final poll gave Noltey a 300-vote victory. Workers at his headquarters let out a weary whoop, and, the next day, Noltey declared, "We see that that means, attacking Tory votes."

While the NDP defeat left some supporters wondering whether the party



WCC Leader Keeler wiped off the map

will ever succeed in Alberta, it left others pondering what went wrong. One target of criticism was Federal leader Ed Broadbent, whose announcement in late October of an industrial strategy to tax the rich and raise corporate taxes was regarded by some observers as diluted. For example, the scheme drew critical editorial comment in Edmonton, where the NDP hoped to make a breakthrough. Others suggested that, if the NDP could not succeed in the wave of economic times in Alberta, they never would. Said former Alberta Social Credit Leader Robert Clark: "The

media in Alberta have always given the NDP far more credibility than they deserve."

With the new year here but too much credibility for their own good, the Western Canadian Congress had to settle. The new entered the campaign almost totally unopposed, with many members who had never been in politics before and a war chest that was empty. The platform was also bare, except for general goals that had been overtaken by months of no-fighting, ill-advised statements about contraceptives and spans within the ranks, and a needless deflation of its separator option.

Despite Keeler's claims, the thinking that prompted his rise remains. One of the party's primary sources—redressing the political imbalance in Confederation—is still a key issue for most Albertans, regardless of party affiliation. Eric Geddes, a partner with Price Waterhouse in Edmonton and a provincial Tory fund raiser, describes the situation as "frustrating and galling." Says Geddes: "I think there has been no little chance for Albertans to make a strong contribution to national affairs." Although some feel that the sense of alienation will change once Prime Minister Trudeau steps down, former federal Liberal senator Hu Barnes, now an Edmonton economist, asserts, "We need to do something. There's a level of alienation that did not exist 10 years ago. Either we participate or we get out." In Ottawa, new Liberal MP and Leader Paul Ginnis, from Alberta, had no time for reflexes, with a hunger vote for the progress in the upper house. But all parties, including the previous, the坐的, Parliament and the Senate itself—may be reluctant to expand powers that could weaken their own individual roles.

While Leighfield wrote a change of government in Ottawa, convinced that there will be no fundamental difference in attitude toward Alberta or the West until the Tories return, he will concentrate on the Alberta economy. For his part, Keeler was not optimistic about the prospects. After the vote, he fled to the hills to hunt and fish, vowing to "eny Alberta before the PCs destroy it." Leighfield was sanguine about chances that Alberta will some day peep out as the economic engine for the rest of the nation. As for change in Ottawa, the premier told MacLean's: "The optimistic that members of parliament from Alberta will be sitting on the government side fairly soon." "What he will be doing when that day comes," Leighfield would not say. His smacking success was food enough to savor on a quiet night at an amateur marina.

With Andrew Anderson in Ottawa, Carol Brown in Toronto, Doreen Greer in High River and Doug Winger in Fort Macleod

NATIONAL

Disrespecting their elders

The shouting match in the lobby of Ottawa's Canadian Lawyer hotel was a colorful addition to Liberal party lore. In one side room Alfred Appa, a 25-year-old Toronto law student and the architect of a brash policy resolution that demanded backroom wheeling and dealing at last week's Liberal party convention. His opponent was Senator Keith Denny, 56, the party's Liberal strategists. While onlookers watched, Denny charged that Appa was hell-bent on tarnishing the party's well-polished image of unity. "I will not be baited!" Appa bellowed. Denny retorted. At the verbal brawl's end, the move is the lobby began cheering, "All, All, All!"

The ostensibly row was the opening salvo in a grassroots movement to curb the power of the iron clique that has controlled access to Pierre Trudeau and party patronage posts since the early 1960s. Denny's support for Iona Campagnolo as party president, for example, turned a routine challenge against newcomer Norman MacLeod into a noisy battle in a shadowed room. MacLeod, a 50-year-old former company executive, was extrapolated into the unlikely role of anti-establishment candidate. Campagnolo, a former cabinet minister, was forced to decline her dependency from the senator's influence at every delegate pit stop in traditional Liberal fashion, however, the delegates snidely dubbed a resolution that, in effect, attacked the prime minister's leadership. And they kept him curiously exempt from most of the caustic criticism of his inner circle. Nonetheless, while about 2,100 delegates wrestled with the choice of renewing Liberal policies in necessary terms, they were also treated to a preview of their future leadership contest. In anticipation of Trudeau's eventual retirement, his would-be successors strategized for position on the convention floor.

The rebellion that has been dubbed "The Children's Crusade" was initiated by Appa at the Young Liberals convention with a hard-hitting resolution that demanded and then demanded a list of party outlaws. It demanded "manipulative electoral shams," "polls, propaganda, and patronage orchestrated by a small elite," and the trend that "non-selectable, non-legislative, non-elected members of the party should have direct influence roles in shaping the government." The youth meeting, which preceded the national convention, promptly adopted the motion as its top priority—which pushed it onto the agenda that day.

As convention spreads. And, while the young delegates congratulated themselves and a daunted cabinet minister mumbled "Out of the mouth of babes," Appa maintained he did not blame Trudeau for the situation. "People for months have been submerging their anger and frustration. Together they have the courage to say what's on their minds," he declared. "But we are not like the Tories—we are not a party that tries to turn down a strong leader."

That almost universal desire to prevent a public leadership squabble skilled Trudeau from some upstart challenges. When BC delegate Elbert Paul solemnly proposed a secret ballot

the convention panel when former finance minister John Turner stalled into the convention and was surrounded by protesters. The effervescent leadership candidate downplayed the significance of his appearance, saying, "The point of this policy convention is to find out what the Liberal party thinks,

as constitutional amendments dealing with leadership review, he was promptly squashed by the famous delegates in a nearly unanimous vote.

The solid affirmations allowed Trudeau to use the convention as a dramatic platform for still another series of economic promises. In a lengthy and sonorous keynote address, the prime minister said that the upcoming Throne Speech will contain a five-point reform plan based on reorganizing the banking economy. Said Trudeau: "We are here tonight to send a signal to a government country that the spirit of a renewal

is alive in Canada and the Liberal party is at the core."

The manager managed to straddle both sides of the right-left divide that provoked acrimonious debate among delegates at weekend policy workshops. On the one hand, the grassroots have clearly shifted to the right, espousing such investment-oriented proposals as "stability in tax legislation and regulations." On the other, the delegates hung onto some Liberal principles, defining a resolution that called for an end to the universality of social programs.

Policy decisions piled when former finance minister John Turner stalled into the convention and was surrounded by protesters. The effervescent leadership candidate downplayed the significance of his appearance, saying, "The point of this policy convention is to find out what the Liberal party thinks,



Trudeau after hours at the liberal convention: moved down in the lobby

not what I think." In another corner of the convention, former cabinet minister Paul Mulroney returned to the Liberal fold with a blistering attack on the government's monetarist policies. Various other leadership hopefuls, including Trudeau's former principal secretary Jim Coutts and Energy Minister Jean Chretien, rode the rounds. In the end, the delegates came away in a better mood than they expected. Still, many were impressed that they had chosen the air simply by throwing a switch in the back room. — MARY JANE COOK in Ottawa

ter, Energy Minister Jean Chretien proceeded to release details soon, but his officials apparently are scrambling to trim \$600 million from their spending plans for the next two years. About half the savings are expected to come from cuts in Petro-Canada's investment budget and half from scaling down the Canadian Home Investment Program and several other smaller cuts.

A slightly jaded finance department official said he was still trying to figure out the mathematics of the mini-budget. "It contained all kinds of twists and turns," he said. "One every budget," he says. But he acknowledged that life in "Fortress Finance" has changed in recent weeks. Gone are the old, frustrating days when it took months to get MacEachern to respond to a suggestion. "With Lalonde, you get your memo back fast—with a handwritten comment," he says. "You may not like the policy but you know what's happening."

But even Lalonde did not seem to know quite what was happening last week when Trudeau unexpectedly announced without consulting his finance minister that he had approached former finance minister and cabinet colleague Donald MacEachern to help rework communications in Canada's economic prospects. Afterword of the inquiry was leaked to *The Globe and Mail*, an embarrassed Trudeau confessed to Parliament, "I have not even consulted any colleagues in cabinet or caucus on this project, although the deputy prime minister [Allan MacEachern] knows about it."

Determined to put the best possible face on the awkward situation, Trudeau said: "I think that royal commission will be extremely important in terms of a change in thinking regarding the future of this country. I hope it will play a role as important as that played by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism."

By standards of history, this had an ominous ring. The Royal Commission, the grandfather of royal commissions, was set up in 1957 by Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King when the Great Depression had almost broken the nation's spirit. After an exhaustive three-year investigation the commission recommended sweeping changes in the distribution of power between Ottawa and the provinces, giving the federal government almost total control over the tax system, the unemployment insurance system and agricultural programs. Some historians have called it a revolution of federalism. As economists struggle to understand Lalonde's mini-budget and political analysts try to discern the motives in Trudeau's master plan, ordinary Canadians were left scratching their heads—and waiting.

—CAROL GOHAN is Ottawa

An ounce of pre-emption

The endless pre-emptiveness of the Trudeau cabinet's new broadcasting policy has taken on the character of a bad television series. For those in the audience who tuned in last week, there was yet another look of a government document—this one offering a glimpse into the future of TV and a publicity campaign worthy of the crusades.

The paper, running to 30 pages plus three appendices and dated Oct. 14, is a draft of a strategy being prepared for submission to cabinet by Communications Minister Francis Fox. It was slipped to the Times before it got to cabinet. When we first heard about its contents in the *Conservative*, Fox and he was still making changes in the document, which has been in the bureaucratic mill for more than a year. The paper clearly contains the major elements of a strategy. Fox's department will formally endorse it before Christmas and it is based on an earlier version that was also leaked (MacEachern, Nov. 1).

The major provisions of the policy are familiar to all who have followed the rambling debates about broadcasting in the past. In areas of cable, TV and broadcast satellite receivers, Canadians are interested in a rising flood of U.S. programs.

With cheap new technology available to consumers, the paper concludes that "a policy designed simply to withhold these services could not be enforced."

Indeed, Fox's department has

not even figured out how to keep the costly and aging present-day satellite dishes out of the hands of such unlicensed users as hotels and bars, let alone how to deal with those already in place.

The questions the Fox strategy seeks

to answer how, in the face of U.S. programming dominance, can the government maintain the broadcasting system "as an instrument of cultural and social policy," promote a "solid core of alternative Canadian programming," and, at the same time, increase the choice of channels in all regions.

Fox's answers include setting up a Crown corporation programming development

fund for loans or grants to private broadcasters for production that would be financed with as much as \$30 million raised mostly by a tax on cable companies, and pumping an extra \$80 million into the CBC for independent programs. At the same time, Canadian content rules would be toughened to require more prime-time Canadian drama and more children's shows. The cabinet would assume even more policy-setting authority over the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Cable companies could carry even more U.S. programs than they do now, but only if they treat more Canadian material.

The Fox paper differs on at least two points from the findings—to be released next week—of the so-called Appleby commission on cultural policy, headed by Louis Appleby and Jacques Hebert. Leaked portions of the Appleby report recommend that the CBC should not be given production, news, sports and public affairs, and it argued arm's-length relations between the government and its various cultural agencies. Fox, on the other hand, implies that the CBC should remain intact and be called for greater cabinet power over the CBC.

Nothing underlined

Ottawa's urge to centralize power in ministers' hands more vividly than the publicity plan contained in an appendix to the Fox paper. The paper proposed that Fox announce the policy in a video news conference, linked to regional and local reporters in six cities across the country. Audiovisual material would be produced for use by local cable channels, to avoid "relying exclusively on intermediaries in the media."

Total projected publicity cost: \$136,000.

A Fox aide said last week that the minister had not yet approved the publicity scheme, which had been pitched by his officials. But one element of the plan has already been completed: Trudeau's Oct. 14 speech to the Canadian Bar Association, however, the methodical systematicity of the publicity page seems already to have taken in a stream of unstoppable leaks.

—ROB HAT in Ottawa



Prime Minister

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Manitoba's Stony Mountain penitentiary: a notorious Aporecets

A mandate for supervision

Some of the most vicious crimes of recent years have been committed by men who were actually serving sentences at the time but who were on the streets under so-called mandatory supervision. This was the B.C. drug king, shot in the back during a holdup by a man who had served only released on good behavior. The 16-year-old killer in Oregon, B.C., who was severely assaulted and martyred by a man released after serving 16 months of a two-year term for sexually assaulting a four-year-old, and the 85-year-old Vancouver woman who was raped, allegedly by a man on mandatory supervision who is now pleading not guilty by reason of insanity. Last week, after years of study and heated public debate, Minister General Robert Kaplan finally proposed a new law intended to tighten the supervision program and keep offenders behind bars.

Kaplan's bill, introduced in the Senate, stipulates that offenders who breach the terms of mandatory supervision or commit a crime will be locked up for the rest of the original sentence. Under current law, an offender whose release is revoked can be freed again, sometimes almost instantly, by earning an automatic time off for good behavior. The Kaplan bill would require an inmate to get National Parole Board approval for a second chance at an early release under supervision.

The practice of automatic early release itself has been in place for more than a century; supervision has only been required since 1976. In theory, the policy promotes good conduct in prison and protects society. In fact, however, it has a notorious failure rate. Officials say that fully 17 percent of all mandatory

supervision are revoked and that 30 per cent of offenders are convicted of crimes while they are free under the program.

The society needed an understandable mandatory supervision is granted to hard-core offenders, the government who committed a parole. While most prisoners can apply for parole after serving about a third of their sentence, release under mandatory supervision is earned at the rate of 15 days for every month spent behind bars.

The parole board, meanwhile, is taking pre-emptive action of its own. Twice this fall it has slapped warrants on offenders and suspended their release rights at the prison gates. Claude St. Louis, who had just finished two years of a three-year term for indecently assaulting a young boy, was the first affected. Declared board Chairman William Duthiebridge, "St. Louis' file supply demonstrates that he is a dangerous criminal who has not learned to control himself." It was the first release suspended by the board without evidence of misconduct, and St. Louis, now back in prison, is planning to challenge the action in court.

If and when the Kaplan bill comes up for debate in Parliament, another sort of challenge is certain. Opponents who, like a full debate as prison and the criminal justice system, were miffed that Kaplan chose to put the measure in the Senate first, in principle, in fact, that the bill will not be passed when the current parliamentary session is prolonged in a few weeks. That means it could be months before the public enjoys whatever protection the bill will offer—300 days in Ottawa, with Malcolm Gray in Vancouver.

—Vancouver Sun, Westcoast Sentinel, Prince Rupert Northern, Vancouver and Port Alberni

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Peace imposed with a price tag

Longshoremen and their bosses in Canada's seven West Coast ports went back to work last week—and back to the bargaining table—under a double-barreled threat from the federal government. If the two sides had not negotiated a new contract by the start of this week, according to a bill passed through Parliament, the workers would have been forced to submit to Ottawa's 88- and 516 restraint programs and their employers would have been saddled with terms of the old contract: high premiums for afternoon and night shifts and the longshoremen's right to open (dock) or 51 virtually all containers moving through the ports. Ottawa hoped to produce a new deal that more than a year of bargaining, slowdowns and a 36-day lockout failed to achieve.

As talks reopened with new urgency between the B.C. Maritime Employers Association and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, there was little sign in the seven ports that the freighter Sunstar was the first of 100 vessels at anchor in English Bay to seek refuge at a berth, unloading steel from Tokyo. Thousands of grain handlers and railway men, laid off during the lockout, welcomed their work medals. Some 300 dock workers gathered in the Vancouver living hall the day work resumed, however, found that only half had jobs.

The court's 3,560 longshoremen and their 98 employers struggled to determine how the docks should be run, knowing that they had but only five days left to agree. The employers had been prepared to accept recommendations by a federal mediator for a 12.4-per-cent wage increase in the first year, 10.6 per cent in the second, with the third left open. Having rejected those terms, the union now could be restricted to Ottawa's offer of nine per cent for 1982, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1983. Then 11.5 and five per cent for 1984, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1985, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1986, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1987, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1988, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1989, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1990, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1991, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1992, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1993, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1994, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1995, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1996, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1997, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1998, then 11.5 and five per cent for 1999, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2000, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2001, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2002, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2003, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2004, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2005, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2006, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2007, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2008, then 11.5 and five per cent for 2009, then 11.5 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THE GROWTH-EDGE

Oil and Gas

PanCanadian

Petroleum Limited

Mines and Minerals

Centinco Ltd.

Fording Coal Limited

Steep Rock

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Forest Products

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Products Limited

Pacific Forest

Products Limited

Comincolet Properties,
Limited

Iron and Steel

The Algoma Steel

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A vote of conditional support



Kennedy celebrates his re-election: the Democratic new House majority threatens to veto Reagan's next legislative agenda

By Michael Posner

The 1986 congressional elections have confirmed anew an enduring pattern of political discourse: victory, like beauty, resides in the eye of the beholder. Apparently unswayed by the loss of 26 Republican seats in the House of Representatives and at least seven state governorships, President Ronald Reagan had exact revenge in the House. Democrats had won. Without a need to defend, he suggested that the Grand Old Party—in not losing more seats—had actually won. No less an authority than House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill called the election “a disastrous defeat for the president.” But, to consider that claim, O'Neill had to ignore his own party’s failure to gain even a single seat on the Republican-controlled Senate (see chart).

Still, the midterm results were ambiguous enough to give a measure of credence to both claims. Facing the worst economic crisis since the Depression, Republicans might well have been swept away in a tidal wave of voter resentment over 10-per-cent-plus unem-

ployment. Indeed, most House Republicans who lost last week were stout Reagan loyalists running in districts of high joblessness. Still, many conservatives survived—including Democrats who backed the Reagan programs—and the G.O.P. retained its 54-to-46 majority grip on the Senate, albeit with narrow victories in five states.

Clearly, Wall Street read last week’s ballots as evidence that Republicans will remain essentially intact. Before profit-taking, the Dow Jones bulls stampeded to an all-time high of 1,360, and trading volume for the week topped \$1 billion shares, a new record. Now

joined Union Pacific Corp. Chairman James K. Evans. “If the president had lost 48 to 50 seats in the House, that would have been a clear catastrophe. That didn’t happen.”

But, if Tuesday’s vote had constituted the repudiation of Reaganomics that some pundits had forecast, the Democrats did make impressive gains. They captured 60 per cent of all congressional seats and won 75 per cent of the gubernatorial races. And, in adding 10 seats to their House majority, the party threatened to sidebar, if not derail, the White House’s legislative agenda for the next two years.

Most observers believe that Republican losses in the House have not only shattered the coalition of core conservatives and “Bellwether” Democrats that guided Reagan’s historic tax and budget cuts through Congress. “Wean him to time,” White House Chief of Staff James Baker issued bravely last week, the president would still be able to piece together a patchwork majority. But Reagan’s fundamental goals—trimming social programs and boosting defenses

spending—will undoubtedly face intense scrutiny and firm opposition.

More specifically, House Democrats will seek to repeal the 10-per-cent tax cut scheduled for July. Not only will they bolt at fresh efforts to trim domestic programs but they will likely attempt to restore funding for some social and tax legislation. An analysis by “opponents of Reaganomics” forecasts in eight of nine states (voters to be elected in disarray) referendums on Ontario and Quebec this week. Democrats are expected to mount a vigorous campaign to slash defense appropriations, taking particular aim at the \$3.6-billion B-1 bomber program. A House move to cut the budget failed by only two votes in the last session. The new power alignment will likely succeed in the next attempt.

But such moves will not resolve Washington’s abiding crisis: a record federal deficit. At best, dropping the M-1 and one or two other arms systems would cut only about five per cent from the estimated \$300-billion debt. Any significant assault on the deficit would involve a range of difficult and politically separable options: a more ruthless paring of defense spending, tax increases or deep cuts in federal entitlements such as social security. Without some action to curb deficits, interest rates will likely resume their upward spiral, keeping the U.S. economy—and Canada—stalled.

Already the social security spat is heating on the lip of bankruptcy. In a little-noted announcement last week, the treasury department transferred \$1 billion from the disability trust fund to more benefits payable by the vintage fund. It is the first instance of interfund borrowing since 1948. A special presidential commission, headed by economist Alan Greenspan, is scheduled to recommend possible remedies by Dec. 1. But any major reform will inevitably include registration changes in eligibility and cost-of-living adjustments. And enduring such changes requires a kind of courage rarely found in Congress. A New York Times/CBS poll found large majorities in the new Congress against both proposals.

However, as social security and other issues, a respectable body of Washington opinion is convinced that Reagan will be prepared to compromise. His Rose Garden remarks affirmed his refusal to abandon principle, but he also referred to the bipartisan spirit that he hopes will prevail. The first concession will likely include items on the conserv-

ative calendar: abortion, school prayer and tuition tax credits. Among newly elected House members, the Pennsylvania seat remained roughly 74 per cent opposed to a constitutional amendment allowing states to ban abortions.

The New Right suffered another decisive setback last week. The Journal Conservative Political Action Committee spent an estimated \$4 million trying to defeat liberal Democrats in 36 House and Senate contests, but only one—incumbent Nevada Senator Howard Cannon—was defeated. In most instances, NCPAC’s crudely negative commercials rebounded against the Republicans.

The lesson that money isn’t always buy political love was underscored else-

where in their political repartees. Women won only one of 35 House seats contested. Blacks sent three new Democrats to Congress but they failed to elect the nation’s first black governor. Tom Bradley in California, on the other hand, represented Mississippi, Black Clark.

The Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a popular liberal performed surprisingly well, defeating Tom Hause as governor of New Mexico, four Cuban-Americans to the Florida legislature and the first Hispanic member of the Illinois House. And, in what was easily the most bizarre result, Texas voters elected a dead man—John Wilson—to the state senate. Wilson died of lung cancer in mid-September but he still earned 96 per cent of the vote. Electoral officials had ruled that Wilson’s death happened one day after the deadline for removing names from the ballot.

Analyzing voting results is an arduous science, but already Washington’s users are assessing the election’s implications for the 1988 campaign. Among Democratic presidential hopefuls, only Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy sought reelection, predictably winning easily. But his probable challengers—former vice-president Walter Mondale and senators John Glenn and Gary Hart—were also active speaking for candidates across the country. They collected some valuable political capital. Still, the party remains without clear leadership and is badly split between its conservative and liberal elements. With their new House majority, Democrats may feel more public pressure to produce soft-jerk and criticism of Reagan’s program, as well as more assertive. To this end, the Democratic agenda in governance and state legislation gives the party a real organizational edge.

The G.O.P. faces a different set of problems. In drafting Ronald Reagan as a solid rock, American voters were apparently asking for reasonable compromises on defense and social spending issues. Republicans who share that view generally fared best last week. But the president has proved to be a hard-liner as previously those in union II Reagan lands, he will offend the party’s conservative wing, perhaps setting off a bitter struggle for succession should he decide not to seek a second term. If stubbornness persists, the result may well be legislative deadlock. Neither scenario is particularly appealing either to Republican fortunes in 1988 or to Ronald Reagan’s possible quest for a second term. ♦



Republican Firewall dog money was not the only issue

where last week Texas Governor William Clements (who spent \$15 million), New York gubernatorial candidate Len Lehrman (\$8 million) and Minnesota Senate hopeful Mark Dayton (Fl. 1 million) were all defeated. One notable exception was New Jersey Democrat Frank Lautenberg, who paid \$1.6 million for a statewide TV campaign and upset Republican Michael J. Pataki. Nor was money the only big loser. Two men with presidential ambitions—Jerry Brown (elected for a California Senate seat by Republican Pete Wilson) and Illinois Governor James Thompson (a bare-breath winner over Democrat Adlai Stevenson Jr.)—inflicted damage

MIDTERM GAINS AND LOSSES		
	SENATE	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
	DEMOCRATIC	REPUBLICAN
BEFORE	49	241
REPUBLICANS	54	182
AFTER	46	267
DEMOCRATIC	48	267
REPUBLICANS	54	144



White-collar workers demonstrating in Paris: at odds with the Socialists over controls

FRANCE

Caught in the jaws of restraint

Claude Journe looks like a public-relations executive's dream. His slinky, silver-fax good looks shimmer with permanent power. His measured rhetoric, delivered with a blinding grin, suggests an ability to sell even the most inapplicable product. In the weeks ahead the 38-year-old former managing director of a leading French plastics firm will need every one of these assets. Flashed from private industry last June to administer France's four-month wage and price freeze, "Maestro Control," as he is known, now finds an even more arduous task: convincing France to accept an automatic wage cut of 10 percent last week when the freeze ended.

So complex and so rigorous are the new constraints that confusion and disgruntlement have gripped the country. While bankers promptly raised the cost of the covered benefits by about a cent, others still do not know what increase Journe's authorization will allow. At week's end he had succeeded in hammering out case-by-case agreements with only six of 15 labor sectors and 25 of 400 industries, limiting overall price and wage increases to 10 percent this year and eight percent in 1983.

The "negotiated thaw," as the government describes its post-freeze package, is part of a campaign by President François Mitterrand's government to revive France's body ailing economy. But its greatest significance is that it confirms a major policy reversal. First signaled in the 1980 budget, which was introduced in September, The govern-

ment has since restored. It will probably break ranks with the Socialists, taking the largest cuts, the Conservative-led Confederation Générale du Travail, with it.

To maintain as much national support as possible, the government has been actively trying to win over the business community. In a highly publicized announcement, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy announced a freeze on employees' social security contributions and a gradual release from their family allowances obligations. Other ministers have introduced a series of measures to discourage imports—sweat that have been denounced abroad as "protectionism"—to reduce this year's sizable \$11.3-billion trade deficit. One order, clearly aimed at the Japanese (who control 50 percent of the videotape recorder market), requires all sales reporters to enter France through the small, backfisted entry port of Portiers. The city's 10 customs agents are expected to be so swamped that deliveries will be delayed by at least six weeks, drying up the huge Christmas market and trimming an estimated two percent from the trade deficit. Despite protests from Japan, the French appear delighted with this strategy and they may create similar bottlenecks for services and other sensitive imports.

But the Socialists' main target is inflation, currently at 12 percent. Journe has a network of 3,000 officials charged with enforcing the new austerity rules and with the authority to fine those who flout them. The government can already claim that the four-month freeze was a success. It managed to stave off price increases to an average of 6.4 percent a month and will hardly allow a 10 percent rise by the end of the year (as required by 14 percent in 1981).

But Delors has made it clear that the country cannot afford to sustain its restrictive policies now—even with unemployment at 14 percent—or all the ground gained so far will be lost.

Indeed, as the soaring U.S. dollar—at an all-time high against the franc—eclipses winter energy bills, the dismal prospect of a third currency devaluation looms. If productivity and competitiveness in foreign markets continue to decline. For the moment, however, officials are wagering Claude Journe's powers as a salesman against that blow.

PARIS



More creativity at risk

IRELAND

The Soldiers of Destiny go to war

The Irish Republic's 2.2 million voters will trudge to the polls for the third time in 20 months on Nov. 24. Their task is the same this time as last: to resolve the deadlock over which of the country's two main parties—Prime Minister Charles Haughey's Fianna Fáil or the opposition Fine Gael—is to shoulder the burden of a spiraling deficit (the Irish now eat more per head, about 800, than the Poles). The choice is clearly a difficult one—the two previous elections produced government majorities of only two and three. And the voters' dilemma is sharpened this time by the fact that the parties agree on the need for harsh spending cuts. Sage political writer Olivia O'Leary: "It's really a question of which hair shirt you prefer."

But, if there is little at issue, there is much at stake. For Haughey, the elections are a fight for political survival. For neighboring Ulster, on the other hand, a new incident at the prime

With one of his MPs dead and another in hospital, Haughey was wide open to a challenge from FitzGerald

minister's Upper Merrion Street office could mean an improvement in relations between Dublin and London and a chance to end the wariness of last year's Dublin-Belfast election. Finally, for foot-tire party workers and their long-suffering quarry, the voters, there is the chance to earn a respite after months of almost continuous electioneering.

The defeat that tambled Haughey from power after only eight months in office was founded in the moral as well as mortal frailty of politicians. After last February's indecisive elections, Haughey secured his majority only by luring away an independent MP with the promise of a \$300,000-plus investment deal for his failing Last week age and infirmity had their revenge. With one of his MPs dead and another in hospital after a serious heart attack, Haughey was wide open to the challenges from Fine Gael Leader Garret FitzGerald in the Dail (parliament). When it came Haughey haphazardly ordered an ambulance to stand by in case the sick MP,



Jack Daniels Distillery, Tennessee, photo by Jim H. Gandy, Government

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ENTERTAINMENT WEEKLY 11

James Gibbons, fell well enough to vote. But no one was surprised when he did not. A bitter opponent of Haughey's, Gibbons was unlikely to risk his life to save the prime minister's political skin.

In fact, Haughey, a small, tough, self-made millionaire, has probably made too many enemies to survive a second defeat at the hands of Fitzgerald, who ousted him in the first of their two previous close encounters. After a seven-month spell in opposition, Haughey bounced back last time with the same enthusiasm that he showed in 1970 when fighting off a charge of graftsmanship to the north. But in building the power base that assured him the leadership of Fine Gael (Soldiers of Destiny), he ruthlessly shamed aside many in the party establishment. They are likely to seize the chance now to get even.

If the polls are right, that chance will come later this month. The most recent sondages show that only 30 per cent of voters are satisfied with Haughey's performance. More than half would prefer Fitzgerald, whose bumbling manner and occasional abandonment of dress (a recent picture showed him wearing mismatched shorts) mask a tough, if inexperienced, politician.

So would the powers that be in London. In Haughey's early days in office a meeting with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Dublin aroused hopes of a



Fitzgerald: Tough but inexperienced

joint initiative to solve the Ulster question. In exchanges that surprised observers by their cordiality—Haughey's record had stamped him as a hawk on Irish unity—the two leaders agreed to set up working parties to explore possibilities for a settlement. And the deal

was sealed by Haughey's gift of an antique silver trophy to Thatcher.

But progress is the minority. Back room was slow and avaricious in Ulster itself disruptive. Haughey's optimism turned to despair at last year's deaths of IRA hunger strikers in Belfast's Maze prison, raised republican hopes south of the border. With his government clearly in trouble over the economy, Haughey could take no risks and the intense hostility less and less cordial. The tipping point came last spring when Haughey proposed a ceasefire and negotiations during the Falklands War. The move infuriated Thatcher, and any hope of a joint Ulster approach was effectively scuttled in the South Atlantic. Said a British official, recalling the tensest incident: "If he came over now, she would probably drown him with it."

Fitzgerald is not entirely more conciliatory over Ulster. But his return would at least break the current cycle of strained relations, and last week that event seemed more than probable. Interviewed after the vote is the DMR, Haughey remained defiant: "I do not contemplate defeat," he said. "My life is politics. Fine Gael and the rest of Ireland." Nevertheless, later the month Irish voters may well decide to give their controversial leader—and themselves—a well-earned rest.

—BRIDGET KEEGAN in Dublin

INDIA

Inching toward reconciliation

When two people disagree, traditionally they appeal a mediator. And that was why most Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq decided to do in New Delhi last week. Still, despite the groundbreaking nature of the meeting, the first between leaders of the two countries in a decade, and the accompanying diplomatic overstatements—a grueling 13-hour process—on both sides were cautious about the long-term prospects of a lasting accord between the two estranged neighbors.

There have been many attempts to improve Indian-Pakistani relations since they both achieved independence more than 30 years ago. But traditional hostility between Muslim Pakistan and predominantly Hindu India, coupled with major disagreements over a variety of issues, including the future of Kashmir, have led to war between the nations three times. Recently, New Delhi has again become wary of Pakistan's intentions following that country's 40 billion rupee and resources aid to Washington—including 40 advanced F-16 fighters which India had wanted to purchase for its plane. For its part, Pakistan is nervous about India's links with the Soviet Union, while concern of Afghanistan poses a military threat on Pakistan's northern border.

Only a day before Zia's arrival there was signs that the old antipathy remained. The influential Times of India ridiculed his recent declaration that he is "God's own apprentice" in rule Pakistan. But there was no reflection of that attitude in official circles, and Gandhi's farewell to Zia after their four-hour exchange was effusive. But observers were quick to point out that such topics in the thorny question of Kashmir, which is in dispute between the two nations, were not discussed. The commission, whose terms of reference are to be finalized in December, will deal primarily with trade and cultural matters. At the same time, negotiations on a Pakistan draft for a sovereignty pact and an India proposal for a broader peace treaty are still high.

However, it was still unclear what motivated the meeting. Some observers in New Delhi commented that both leaders had reasons other than a desire for reconciliation to stress their peaceful intentions. On a recent visit to

Washington Gandhi underlined India's fears about the P-11s the United States is supplying to Pakistan. It is unlikely that Washington, which wants attention focused on Afghanistan, will not act on this issue between India and Pakistan. Will, on the other hand, India's continued peaceful intentions toward India before agreeing to any further request for aid, or might make (the Pakistani president will visit the United States and Canada next month). For her part, Gandhi will want the Non-Aligned Movement's conference, and she does not want to be seen sparring with a fellow Member and close neighbor at such a time.

Talks between the two nations clearly



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Tough talk from an ally

Assistant Ambassador Dean Hermon's message was blunt. Addressing an San Salvador audience, he warned that Washington will cut off military aid unless the Salvadorean government takes immediate steps to curb abuses "by some elements of the security forces." Charging that 30,000 people have been murdered since 1979 and that only 200 of the killers have been convicted by the courts, he claimed: "The goals of [the] [leftist] Maska, every bit as much as the [leftist] guerrillas in Moncagua and Chalatenango, are destroying El Salvador."

Hermon's remarks highlighted Washington's frustrations at behind-the-scenes maneuvering by ultralibertarians both within and outside of the military. Their activities have hampered attempts to bring death squads to justice, torn gaping holes in the facade of democracy erected by the Constituent Assembly elections last March, and stale-mated carefully orchestrated attempts to bring the guerrillas out of their provincial strongholds and into some sort of negotiations to end the country's three-year-old war. And, to emphasize how seriously Washington views the matter, the state department made sure that copies of Hermon's speech were enclosed in Nixon's speech were enclosed in the Central States.

At the same time, the insurgents

have disengaged that they have not been subduing by El Salvador's 24,000-strong army. After a two-month seige, last May against two northern villages last month and destroyed 100 homes, killing 30 soldiers and taking more than 200 prisoners. Last week they made another spectacular assault, last night overgiving the town of Suchitoto, just 20 km from the capital, inflicting a humiliating psychological blow on the army.

U.S. frustration with the government's failure to halt army lawlessness has deepened steadily since September, when two judges freed Luisa López Sánchez, a key suspect in the 1980 murder of two American agricultural advisers. Two of López' men had been found after a witness failed to identify him as a police informer. A natural redhead with a mustache, López appeared in the linsey clean-shaven and with black hair. His nose had also been altered—because of a combat wound, he claimed. Constituent Assembly President Roberto d'Aburton, a strong rightist, later described López and others implicated in the shooting as close friends of his and "good soldiers."

Even more worrisome is a split within the government of President Alvaro Magaña between moderates, led by Defense Minister José Gutiérrez Garza.

Informed soldier of Suchitoto in dilemma of right and left-wing violence



Genaro López to curb the army

cia, and rightists, led by d'Aburton. Gutiérrez is the main proponent of Washington-backed land reforms, which d'Aburton considers as unacceptable threat to the established economic order. Recently, former president José Napoleón Duarte publicly accused d'Aburton of trying to gain the support of the armed forces in order to overthrow García. "This could have grave consequences for the country," he warned.

Indeed. The warring in government circles added to its efforts to curb institutionalized terror, while Washington is in a dilemma. It now has to decide whether or not to continue backing the fight against the guerrillas and, if so doing, soon to endorse official leniency, or drop its support and risk an eventual military victory for the insurgents. The problem could be solved if government and the guerrillas opened negotiations. But if the guerrillas are to lay down their arms—a precondition set by both Washington and San Salvador and reiterated last month—they will need assurances that the government has its truculent military under control.

So far there are no signs of that asa, with only three months to go before President Ronald Reagan has to certify that El Salvador's human rights record justifies further aid, U.S. patience is running out. There was urgency in Hermon's tone when he told his audience: "If you don't want a democratic system, that's your affair. If your government tells us, 'Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador, we don't want your aid,' we would be pleased to have." El Salvador's leaders, who have ignored previous U.S. warnings along similar lines, may find this time that they pay to heed at their peril.

—JUAN PIZARRO is in San Salvador

Doing battle with an ailing auto giant

By Ian Austen

A last-ditch effort to avert a walkout by 8,000 of Chrysler Canada Ltd.'s employees proved futile last week, but it was not for a lack of last-minute drama. The tension rose to a peak in midweek when a private jet bearing Lee Iacocca—the outspoken chairman of the automaker's U.S. parent company—landed at the tiny island airport south of downtown Toronto. His mission: a face-to-face confrontation with his major antagonist, Robert White, the United Auto Workers Canada director. While exact details of their closed-door, one-hour session are unknown, it soon became clear that neither side had budged. And 48 hours later, workers at Chrysler operations in the Ontario communities of Windsor, Etobicoke and Ajax had begun a strike that Iacocca warned would "cripple the company," perhaps ruin it.

Iacocca's strident words were based on his prediction that the Canadian walkout would not only trash Chrysler Canada's U.S. suppliers out of work but its effects would soon cripple other associations as well. If Chrysler officials were at pains to plumb a disaster scenario in a bid to avoid a strike, however, they seemed much more concerned about the strike as soon as it began. At a hastily called press conference, Chrysler's chief negotiator, William Finken, said the company could not settle with Canadian workers before doing so with their U.S. counterparts, who gave Chrysler a brief respite last month and are scheduled to go back to the bargaining table in January. What is more, he added that Chrysler is prepared to let the strike run to achieve the company's goals.

But Finken's words did much more than dent Chrysler's credibility. For the striking autoworkers, their families and communities, it opened up the prospect of what had been planned as a brief walkout becoming a prolonged ordeal.

Says White, who claims that Chrysler never mentioned its U.S.-first vision to the union: "It's beyond reason. It's been a strange week."

So far this year, despite the auto industry's dire economic health, Canadian autoworkers—apart from Chrysler employees—have had successful sessions at the bargaining table. After refusing to go along with the concessions agreed to by UAW members in the United States, White managed to convince Ford and General Motors to recognize



Chrysler pickets in Windsor, Ont.: a brief walkout may become a prolonged ordeal

the lower labor costs of their Canadian operations. The result was two strike-free settlements which, through improved cost-of-living allowances known as COLAs, put the wages of Canadian workers ahead of those of their U.S. counterparts for the first time. At the same time, Canadian employees retained most of the benefits given up south of the border. But the situation is much more difficult at Chrysler. Not only is White trying to pitch his special U.S.-first case but he is also attempting to get back some of the wages given up in 1979 and 1981 during efforts to keep the company afloat. "We're just trying to get back some of the workers' own money," he says. Given its weaker balance sheet, Chrysler Canada has been much less receptive to White's proposals than its competition was.

So far, the only offer the company has passed across the bargaining table is one exactly like the proposal that was rejected last month in the United States. Says Finken: "While we wish we could grant our employees wage parity with Canadian Ford and GM workers, we are not able to do so at this time." Three years of restructuring, government aid, layoffs and concessions have pulled the company from the brink of disaster to the point where it has reported a profit of \$300.2 million (U.S.) for the first nine months of this year. Nevertheless, the seemingly endless auto and truck sales slumps left the company's automotive sector with a \$135-million loss during the same period.

Ironically, among the first people to be hit hardest by the strike are some of the U.S. Chrysler employees who voted to begin a walkout of at least 10,000 workers. About 4,800 workers at stamping and engine plants in Michigan, which feed Chrysler's Windsor assembly line, faced the prospect of being laid off this week. Nevertheless, White claims that thousands of support staff joined from the U.S. to Toronto offices from locals across the United States. But there was opposition in the strike from other countries. Some members in Windsor—already reeling from the effects of 16-per-cent local unemployment—argued the city's 8,000 Chrysler employees to stay on the job. Similar fears of economic disaster prompted Ontario's labor minister, Russell Knipp, to suggest that back-to-work legislation might be needed "as a last-ditch type of arrangement."

At least for the short term, few signs point toward settlement. Both parties have packed up and left their negotiating headquarters in a downtown Toronto hotel. They have agreed to keep in weekly telephone contact, but there is little prospect of a breakthrough. Says White: "We're willing to sit down and bargain as reasonably as possible. But you can't bargain with yourself!" □

that does little to help their equally beleaguered suppliers. Steel mills in the United States now operate at just 68 per cent of capacity, a situation that has helped drive iron ore prices downward. As for nickel, a major component of high-quality steels, the sharp price decline "has been like a sick hill," says George Miller, Ottawa's assistant deputy minister of mineral policy. While the Canadian government requires about \$5 a pound to break even, nickel now sells for \$1.45 (U.S.) a pound.

A

Federal Mines Minister Rudy Krisl points out, Canadians tend to forget how important mining is for their country. And from zinc, it is a \$15-billion-a-year industry—and half of the product is exported. Yet vital Canadian export markets have been shrinking for years as the international industry re-shapes itself. The key factor is that some nations must export. Ronald Pike, assistant general manager for metals and mining at the Toronto Dominion Bank, has worked as a senior executive in Zambia's government-controlled copper industry. "More than 90 per cent of their foreign exchange is copper," says Pike. "They just can't afford to cut it off."

C

hile, for one, has devolved its currency twice this year to help maintain a low price for its "social copper." And, while Canada's principal nickel producers, Inco and Falconbridge, have laid off most of their work force until at least the spring, the Soviet Union has boosted its nickel exports by at least 60 per cent according to a major metals broker, Amalgamated Inc. of New York. What is more, it is not yet deemed possible to tighten the screws as Third World producers by demanding tougher guidelines on loans from multilateral financial agencies as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. With recent price increases again linked so closely to social and political stability in the Third World, such action "may be immoral," suggests Miller.

B

ut, in light of the social devastation in Canada caused by mine shut-downs, Miller questions whether it is not time to fire a warning shot across the bows of some Indians. One possible tactic he suggests involves government schedules to boost exports and convince competitors that "we are prepared to fight for" our share of the world market. Another suggestion comes from labor unions. They have demanded government-backed loans or subsidies to help companies stockpile productive, and weather the dump. But such a course is generally viewed as counterproductive. "We're not going to help the marketplace to see that inventories build up and overhang the market," remarks Mackenzie.

T

he reality of the market has clearly



Mulroney: under fire for payments

dispelled the popular notion that the world is running short of minerals. "Third World producers have shown how quickly you can increase resource production, given the right power," says David Yudelman of the Centre for Resource Studies. Not surprisingly, then, Ottawa's industrial strategy for the 1980s, published just a year ago, is already leveling off. Some government officials are worried on the belief that mineral prices will rise faster than those for manufactured goods. In fact, just a month after the ministry of state for

down, who's going to give up?"

Currently, Ottawa's tactic is simply to keep the benefits flowing to miners and, in Ermia's words, "ride it out." But the consensus among experts is that it will be at least a decade before Canada's mining industry completely recovers and major new production is attempted. Yudelman's Delta predicts that Third World miners will find that their shift to the new production will stick. "Addis Ababa's of Queen's University

"What they are doing is mining out their high-quality mineral at down and selling it at a price below the cost of production."

While the mining world adjusts itself, Canada is in a iron hold. Thomas Bidder, the Conservative mining critic, says that without higher export prices and with no new production in sight, "you have to rethink basic national economics." At the same time, however, mining companies may emerge from the chaos with new wisdom, says MacKenzie. "There's nothing like having your back to the wall to find better ways of doing things."

A

nd for 100's abrupt method of dealing with bad times, a controversy erupted late last week when it was learned that the company had paid out more than \$200 million (U.S.) to its seven corporate owners, five of which are American, in the three years before last week's shutdown, including \$54 million last January. That is \$40 million more than 100's profits in the same period.

Defending the action, Mulroney pointed out that as dividends had been paid during most of the 1970s. As well, he said, the payments were made on the expectation of continuing profits.

B

ut Mulroney's explanation offered little solace to the residents of Schererville, who now face great hardship. Marc-Pierre Pelletier, 31, has spent 12 years in the town, first as a student and later as an engineer. Now he plans a return to Mont-Joli, the town he was born in. "There's no work there, but I have nowhere else to go," he says resignedly. The company is offering compensation to employees only. And, while a government-industry task force report released last week recommends that companies establish a special fund to help such devastated towns as Schererville, it will be years before the industry has recovered enough to make such aid available.

O

thers in Schererville, such as Marc-André Létourneau, the mechanic in Pelletier's garage, will eventually move to Montreal. A Schererville native, Létourneau says his father moved to the town because he "wanted to build a future for his kids, and that future is no longer here." Unfortunately, thousands of miners across the nation are reaching the same dismal conclusion.

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Petrocan provokes a backlash

The other members of the energy kingdom were not happy, but Petro-Canada was too busy serving its triumph last week to pay any heed. Ottawa's prized predator had just assumed its intention to swallow the marketing and refining operations of Ar Canada Ltd. for \$347.6 million. The move, the latest in a string that has increased Petro-Canada's assets from \$560 million to about \$7 billion in just eight years, more than doubles its number of retail outlets and makes it the fourth-largest gasoline merchant in the country, with 12.5 per cent of the market.

The backlash was immediate and it followed the well-worn path of previous denunciations of earlier takeovers. The Tories declared that it was a waste of taxpayers' money. Industry leaders complained loudly about the threat to competition and market analysis said the price was too high. Gabe the New Democrat, as usual, applauded the move.

Although long rumored, the timing of the deal was a surprise, coming only days after Finance Minister Marc Lalonde announced that Petro-Canada's budget will be restrained by \$250 million through 1986. Company spokesmen, however, insisted that most of the purchase price for the 1,848 oil stations, 80 fuel oil businesses and an 80,000-barrel-a-day refinery in Ontario, Ont., would be saved from Petrocan operations and not funded from the public purse. That did little to assuage Tory energy critic Harvey Andrus, whose party has long been a fan of the Crown-owned company.

"There are dozens of ways in which this money could be spent to benefit Canadians," said Andrus. Unfortunately, he added, not a single one will be wasted by the deal. On the other hand, one energy spokesman, Paul Wedderburn, believes "This is the time to buy. We plan to make Petro-Canada number 1."

But, while the political rhetoric flew, dissecting views were also expressed by private sector spokesmen. James Conrad, executive director of the 200-member Canadian Federation of Independent Petroleum Marketers, expressed fears about the effect of Petrocan's swelling presence on competi-

tors. He charged that, because Petro-Canada is publicly owned, it does not necessarily have to show a profit. As a result, it can—and has—ruthlessly undercut competitors. As well, Joseph Hatala, manager of retail affairs for the independent Petroleum Association of Canada, expressed surprise that the acquisition is being made at a time when the consumer demand for gas is dropping.

Equally serious questions about the takeover have been raised by energy analysts. According to John Ambrose of Toronto-based Giler Wilts Black, "This deal is a bad one for Canadians and a terrible one for oil shareholders." For

series of marathon meetings on the 25th floor of Toronto's Royal Bank Tower, the details were hammered out.

Initially, Petro-Canada will be split into two private companies—one comprised of its exploration and drilling operations, the other of its marketing and refining wings. In February, 1983, Petrocan has agreed to make a bid for the downstream company on the condition that the deal is first approved by oil shareholders and receives favorable tax and regulatory rulings.

Defending the takeover, Petro-Canada spokesman Robert Poulson points out that the "host's share" of the funds will be borrowed from banks, not taken from taxpayers' pockets, as was the case in the company's 1981 purchase of Petrofina. Consumers are still paying a special levy on their oil and gas pur-



Petrocan pumps in the wake of the BP takeover, analysts charged that the price was high

then, the deal is worth a total of \$47 per share below tax, although the stock was trading at only \$38 per share before the takeover. But Canadians, says Ambrose, are paying \$347.6 million for operations with an asset value of only \$165.6 million, which exceeds the normal 25-per-cent spread between purchase price and asset value in such large deals. Similarly, David Mote of Bache Halsey Stuart says that \$300 million would have been a more appropriate price tag.

In the face of the onslaught of critics, Petrocan officials stuck to their view that the deal was a sound one. They certainly spent long, hard hours negotiating it. The company made the effort to Ar Canada, which is 45 per cent owned by the London-based British Petroleum Company, on Oct. 29. Then, in a

chance to pay for the \$1.6-billion transaction. At the same time, he insists that the \$9 acquisition will probably pay for itself, largely because it will give Petrocan a much larger presence in Ontario and Quebec, where demand at its pumps has risen despite drops in the business of competitors.

In fact, all parties to the deal were satisfied with Ar Canada executives' view: happy because the deal will free up cash for the firm's most profitable operations and drilling ventures. Petrocan could soon be the parent of yet another leg in the company's sprawling growth record. Indeed, the most pressing question on the minds of many oilmen last week was how large the public sector behemoth intends to grow. —JAMES PLACIDE, with GILBERT STRAKER and in Calgary

A new master for a magazine empire

When the staff members of *Comcast Communications Ltd.* were summoned to the corner of Yonge and Bloor streets last week for an important announcement, they concluded it was a trinitarian mass. Rumors had swirled for more than a week that the controlled-circulation magazine publisher, owned by Trevor Corp., was about to be sold. Then, when the buyer's identity was revealed, it was greeted with a sense of incredulity. The new owner, Bell Canada Enterprises Inc. (see Michael Knight, editor of *Canada's Great Magazine*, "It came as a bombshell. The last thing anyone thought was the phone company.")

Currently, the newsformed BCI's activities are not directly related to the telecommunications operations of its parent, Bell Canada. Except for telephone directory operations and a Whistler subsidiary that produces a handful of small trade magazines, Bell is a newcomer to the Canadian publishing arena. Canadian, on the other hand, shares out \$57 million capital of consumer magazines a year, most of which it delivers to readers free of charge. It includes *Quebec*, *Comcast's* stable includes *Homesaver*, *City Women*, *Midwest on Paper* and *Western Living*.

The \$5-million deal between BCI and Trevor Corp.—publisher of the *Toronto Star* and *Star-Spectator*—was announced last last summer when Comcast's president, Edward Gilling, sat down with Charles Castell, his counterpart from Ronald-Federated Ltd.—a Bell-controlled printing company— to discuss a printing contract for 1983. Bell dropped the word that it was interested in buying *Comcast*, but the news was all it took to start the negotiations.

Some observers wonder what happened. In fact, in 1981 *Comcast* only turned a modest \$888,000 profit on revenues of \$83 million. But Frank Alles, *Comcast's* chief executive officer, contends that the purchase makes good sense and he says that *Comcast's* earnings were not the only factor in the deal. Another unidentified firm was also bidding for *Comcast* and Bell realized that a sale could spell the end of *Comcast's* relationship with Bell—its link worth about \$12 million annually to the printing company.

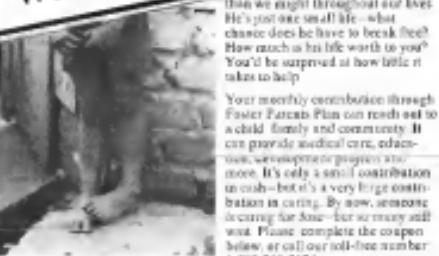
For their part, *Comcast's* editors are hopeful that the change will bring an increase in their budgets. Says Lynn Czajkowski, *Quint's* managing editor: "I don't necessarily see this as a bad thing for us, because these guys are willing to invest some money."

—JAS AUBREY in Toronto



Jose Alexander Nelson: 10 years old. Family lives in rented house in barrio. Diet very poor. Sickness common. Outlook for the future is bleak.

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Some silver linings in the gloom

By Peter C. Newman

Peter Brown, the British Columbia lawyer who怨怒 known locally as The Rabbit, was dining with me recently at Umberto Maglio's ever-decorated Bistro Gledhill restaurant in downtown Vancouver. We were on Pollo Gringos al Lavoro when the roulette of life appeared, unexpectedly bearing a champagne basket. With a flourish it flew high, he placed two cold champagne glasses before us, bowed, nestled deep into the awaiting silver champagne container, and produced a small bottle-brown bottle of O'Keefe & Lee "Compliments of Mr. Nelson Skulhania" to announce and backed away, grinning.

It was an appropriate gesture which caught the current mood among the West Coast's would-be tycoons when upward mobility is temporarily an hold. The mood does not last.

Skulhania himself has been hit with a bill from Ottawa for reassessed basic taxes of \$4.4 million, but is also being sued for at least another \$3 million by various creditors, including the \$1.1 million he still owes on the purchase of the Memphis Rogers soccer team. A real estate "Player" on a grand scale, Skulhania recently sold the Georgia Hotel in downtown Vancouver for \$31 million, more than twice the purchase price, but his debts keep mounting. He has given up three of his Bob-Royes (a remaining Corusite has Alberta license plates) and is back doing real estate deals. On good days Skulhania tells his friends, "I'm over the cliff but still looking up." In bad days he confesses, "You halfway between the edge of disaster, and the brink of defeat."

The als episode must have been a good day.

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square feet of office space for next. Worst hit is the forest industry. Herb Deacon and William Staider, whose private firms once dominated the lumber trade, are, in West Coast parlance, "underwater." Only Peter Bentley's Canadian Forest Products is weathering the storm with grace.

Bob Carter, the semi-retiree entrepreneur who founded his publishing business with his imagination out date, continues to wheel (he and his wife, Sheila, recently celebrated their wedding anniversary by establishing a university scholarship) and back away, grinning.

It was an appropriate gesture which caught the current mood among the West Coast's would-be tycoons when upward mobility is temporarily an hold. The mood does not last.

Skulhania himself has been hit with a bill from Ottawa for reassessed basic taxes of \$4.4 million, but is also being sued for at least another \$3 million by various creditors, including the \$1.1 million he still owes on the purchase of the Memphis Rogers soccer team. A real estate "Player" on a grand scale, Skulhania recently sold the Georgia Hotel in downtown Vancouver for \$31 million, more than twice the purchase price, but his debts keep mounting. He has given up three of his Bob-Royes (a remaining Corusite has Alberta license plates) and is back doing real estate deals. On good days Skulhania tells his friends, "I'm over the cliff but still looking up." In bad days he confesses, "You halfway between the edge of disaster, and the brink of defeat."

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a pretax income of more than \$2 million, was his firm's best, worth since January, 1981. He has 32 new issues in various stages of underwriting, sits an 18 boards and, as the Social Credit party's chief bagman, is toying with the idea of getting into more active politics himself. When his firm won this season's stock exchange baseball league, he treated his team to a victory bash with \$5,000 worth of Don Perignon champagne. "I see 1984 as a real boom year for British Columbia, even overtaking Alberta of the last 10 years, and it's only 14 months away," he predicts. "For the stock market to take off, economic conditions don't have to be right. All it takes is the perception that the economy is strong, improving, and that's probably what is happening."

In the setting out between British Columbia's economic survivors and victims, no metamorphosis has been more startling than that of Jimmy Pattison, the eccentric one-time crook and taken-nude trumpet player who has turned himself—luck, stock and oil barrel—into an international merchant banker. Gone are the polka-dot bow ties, gaudy red jackets and the powder-blue Cadillacs with crinkled-velvet upholstery. Pattison now costumes himself in three-piece pantomime suits, more in keeping with his latest incarnation.

His accomplishments—The Jim Pattison Group—is Canada's 10th-largest company and one of the few firms among the top Five Hundred to have 100 per cent by one person. Of the 31 profit centres within that empire, 24 are in the black, with total sales expected to reach \$1 billion by 1983.

Pattison's most frequent destination is Switzerland, where he has purchased the Great Pacific Finance oil, a financing institution at Zug, 25 minutes south of Zurich. The B.C. entrepreneur is also a partner in an arbitrage company named Anasus, operating out of the Cayman Islands with London's J.H. Schlesinger & Sons as partner.

Despite his offshore prosperity, Pattison remains gloomy about the B.C. economy. "I have never seen anything like it. Unemployment in the small interior towns is running as high as 40 per cent. The lumber guys are being hammered, the mining guys are being hammered, the tourism guys are being hammered, even the fishing guys."

And that, one way is in Lotto Land as economy is the vag of collapse with a few grimy individuals surviving very well indeed.



Brown: the bright one

A taste for classics.

Tia Maria
TIMELESS

France's Association of French-speaking Authors did not intend to mix literature and politics with the inaugural presentation of the Prix de l'Europe. But it did just that in granting the prize to Quebec author **Aline Poniatowska-Fatou** for her seventh novel, *The Lakes Slept in War*. She happens to be married to Quebec Finance Minister **Jacques Parizeau**, and the spur to the book was the co-sponsor of the prize. The French government's Technical and Cultural Cooperation Agency, a powerful arm of francophiles, which has long regarded Quebec City as Ottawa's equal. The political cocktail was inadvertently served up after the findings of an eight-man jury, including **Thierry de l'Abadie**, master **Episca lassus**; **Poniatowska-Fatou**, a distinguished professor of criminology at the University of Montreal, was chosen over 15 other authors. Naturally, she was quick to reject any suggestion of patronage or politics. "The decision was based on merit," she said lastly. "My husband has nothing to do with this. It's not my fault that he became what he is."

Clear-thinking Senator **Ray Perrault**, 56, knew when he assumed the fitness and amateur sports portfolio that if he did not shed a few unattractive pounds he could be blamed to "an amateur lecturer on fire prevention." Accordingly, minutes after leaving his old job as government house leader in the Senate, the portly Perrault never bravely presented to his 15 lb. to 30 lbs. nose, with the mouth up, it appears that public-spirited Perrault has lost all what he should have showcased. The senator re-



Perrault is red and grey, working his way to a yogurt party



PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL COOPER

brother of the late president, Anwar, has been charged with Egyptian plots with a specific series of missiles. They include buying offices, selling commodities as the black market and defrauding hundreds of Egyptians of millions of dollars. A former bus driver who became a millionaire during his brother's presidency, the 55-year-old Sadat has been confined in one of Cairo's notorious jails. Kamal's three present wives and three former spouses all have had their passports revoked and their assets frozen pending an investigation that promises to reach high into the Egyptian government. While there are no suggestions that

President Sadat benefited from his sibling's misdeeds, he was apparently aware of looming trouble. Before his death the former Egyptian leader handed his brother from the customs area of Alexandria, the port where many of Sadat's dubious deals were carried out. Asked an aghast Sadat at the time: "What can I do with this brother of mine?" Obviously, someone has come up with an answer.

The incident was tailor-made for **Peter Street**, hypochondriac. While sleeping away the mounting concerns of the kingdom in a berth aboard the **Manxster Express**, Sir **Geoffrey Howe**, Britain's chancellor of the exchequer and keeper of the public purse, was relieved of his trousers. Along with several other passengers on the London-bound train, the 55-year-old Sir Geoffrey had been an unwitting victim of a nighttime attack that, as the British public gaped over the image of the stately finance minister, reptiles in shorts and a boxer, the British press cheekily demanded that Scotland Yard be called in to solve the crime. White-bellied politicians, however, were not amused. "This is just another example of a serious breach of security," said Conservative MP **Geoffrey Dickens**. "First someone walked into the Queen's bedroom at the palace, and now a cabinet minister's berth has been broken into. Either could have been shot or blown up." Amidst the furor over his wardrobe, only Sir Geoffrey remained calm. "After all," he proclaimed, "I do have more than one pair of trousers."

—BY SHENA MCNAUL



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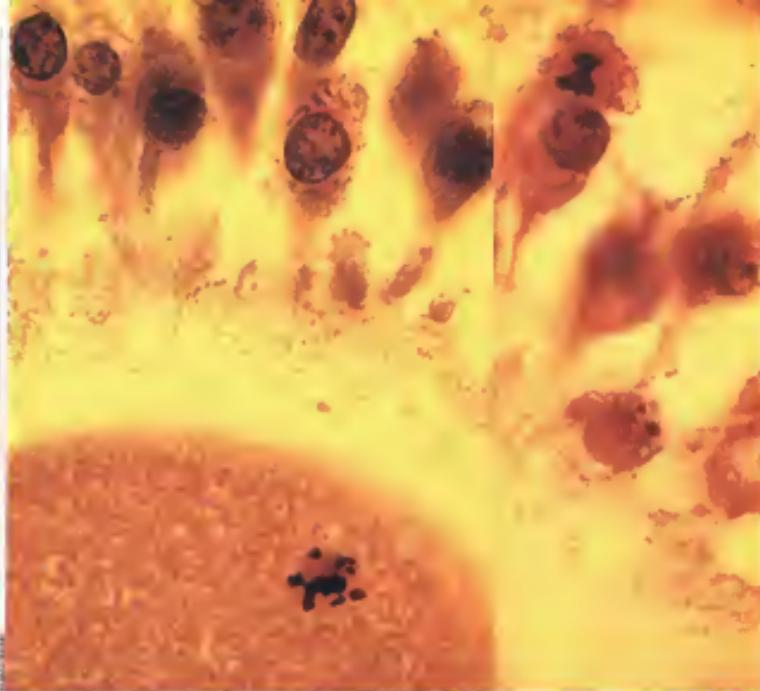
Beyond the limits of life

By Pat O'Leinorff

Four years ago Louise Brown—her picture flickering across millions of TV screens and dominating front pages of newspapers—was the most celebrated baby in the world. Interest was obsessive in the first "test-tube baby," conceived in a glass laboratory dish from the egg and sperm of her parents, who could not reproduce normally. "She's creating all sorts of problems, just like any other normal, healthy four-year-old."

But the progress that gave life to Louise Brown was anything but normal. And the techniques that were used in the revolutionary development have now passed to scientists around the globe of a universe that is both amazingly and extraordinarily advancing in its use. Since the British girl's birth, medical researchers have moved far beyond simple test-tube fertilizations to more valuable procedures such as freezing fertilized eggs (embryos) to freezing an embryo that could have grown into human life had they been implanted in a womb. The new work is morally explosive and in countries such as Britain and Australia it has touched off an edited hurricane. Still, the basic procedure of *in vitro* fertilization (IVF)—meaning literally "conception in glass"—has been widespread acceptance. Since 1978 about 120 test-tube babies have been born, mostly in Britain, Australia and the United States, and new IVF clinics are blossoming around the world. Canada's first set of test-tube twins, and North America's first IVF babies, conceived at St. George and Edwards' clinic, were born last spring in Guelph, Ont. [page 59].

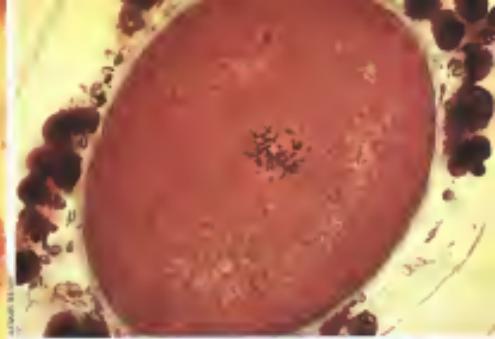
But to medical scientists the miracle of test-tube fertilization is already a cliché. The technology of creating human life is advancing with breathtaking



Human egg (oocyte) stripped into a sterilizing and extraordinarily promising universe

ing speed. Already, researchers are perfecting techniques that enable them to freeze fertilized human eggs for storage and future implantation. At the same time, it has become possible to implant completely foreign embryos into infertile women—in effect, embryo adoption. Even more startling are proposals for the use of "super" fertilized embryos for research into the causes and prevention of genetic defects and the use of embryonic cells for transplantation into patients with certain diseases or injuries. Such possibilities all have the potential for tremendous benefit for infertile couples, family planning programs and the prevention and cure of disease. But they also face momentous legal and ethical questions as scientists interrogate us to deal with these

low-profile. So far, IVF plans and activities in Canada have been quiet to the point of secrecy. One reason for the low profile is a lack of funding. The two established operations are abutting facilities, surviving only by the clever use of existing lab space and large



Fertilized egg (oocyte) at the 11-cell stage, and Lambart and Roux (right) hoping for a home-grown test-tube baby



amounts of after-hours time by the doctors involved. Another reason is the fear that the public controversy over the procedure that has led to the blocking of research funds in the United States may spill over the border to Canada. Doctors and scientists involved also fear that premature exposure of their plans will lead to a flood of requests from infertile couples, most of whom will have to disappoint. Gynecologist Charles Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan, where no IVF program is even planned, reports "the general response about when a clinic will be started."

Estimates of the number of infertile couples in Canada range from 10 to 20

percent. And the University of Western Ontario's David Armstrong, who convened an international scientific conference on IVF last week, estimates "conservatively" that there are 50,000 couples in Canada who might benefit from IVF. "We are beginners in Canada," says Victor Goss, head of IVF's six-month-old IVF program. "We do not want to give people false hopes."

Still, the acknowledged goal of at least the Laval IVF group is to create Canada's first "test-tube" baby. "I keep hoping for a pregnancy," says Jacques Boulet, head gynecologist for the program. "But, after two years, we have had no babies." Boulet takes comfort in the fact that it took Stepanas and Edwards 12 attempts before Louise Brown was born. Laval has had only 12 implantations.

Difficulties. The techniques of IVF are now well known in scientific circles. Basically, the process involves surgically extracting two or three eggs from a woman's ovaries, washing sperm with the eggs in a glass dish in the laboratory, then inserting the fertilized eggs into the uterus with a syringe. Some technical difficulties are common to all IVF programs. While success rates in extracting and fertilizing eggs run at about 10 to 20 per cent, the chance of any one fertilized egg, or embryo, attaching itself successfully to the uterus with the result that pregnancy occurs is much lower, at only 20 to 30 per cent. That problem may be related to important methods of judging whether or not an egg is "ripe" for fertilization.

Despite the problems, other advances in IVF technology have recently opened up the treatment for increasing numbers of infertile couples. Four years ago IVF was used mainly for women with blocked fallopian tubes—a disorder that prevents the eggs from getting to the uterus and meeting the sperm. Now, new findings about the nature of human sperm have made it possible for men with low sperm counts to become biological fathers through the use of a laboratory process which delivers the sperm directly to the egg.

But many current advances in IVF pale in comparison to such dramatic breakthroughs as the freezing of fertilized eggs, now taking place in Australian, at Monash University in Melbourne, in a program led by doctors John Leeton and Alan Trounstein. 26 human embryos are currently frozen in liquid nitrogen at -196°C. Nine such frozen (and thawed) embryos have already been implanted in Australian women—Australian women are not eligible. In addition, the world's first "adopted embryo" (an embryo from one woman implanted in another, infertile



Lesley and Louise Brown: world's first

embryo) is underway. There are staggering possibilities, says Trounstein. "A very practical application of freezing fertilized eggs is to allow later separation of her own embryos if a woman becomes sick. But it might also be possible some day for a couple to have their whole family on us and to implant whenever they choose." (Theoretically, the frozen embryos could be preserved indefinitely—perhaps for generations—before being replanted or allowed to develop in other ways.) Other scientists are watching the developments at Monash with fascination. "It

can, such as Down's syndrome, and even to the correction of such defects by gene manipulation. Even more exciting, however, is the possibility of extracting "stem cells" (embryonic cells that grow into different body organs) into children and adults with "serious diseases or injuries" that would otherwise replace organs or bone transplants. In effect, a person who is ill would be able to "grow" the organ he needs. Edwards says that fetal tissues transplanted into animals—and therefore most likely into humans as well—will be much less likely to cause rejection than adult tissues. In an interview Edwards concluded: "I personally feel that many more people will benefit from such research than from the use of IVF in infertility."

Since 1978, Edwards has been one of the pioneers of IVF. Edwards' opinions carry weight in medical circles. Bourne Hall, a completely private clinic with in-patient stays of up to several weeks, still leads the world in test-tube babies: 62 have been produced there since Louise Brown was born. Still, the very success of IVF and the possibilities of expanding its benefits through human embryo research have sparked intense and agonizing doubts about the rapid advance of the technology. A particularly disturbing question is what is to be known as the "dilemma of the spare embryo." As many as 10 eggs can be extracted and fertilized at a time to ensure success in conception and increase the chance of a resulting pregnancy—but not all eggs, not all, are inserted in the prospective mother. That raises the same question of what should be done with the leftover fertilized eggs. They have a life outside the womb of about 134 days. In the United States the problem does not arise because all the eggs are implanted, despite the risk of multiple births. But, in Australia, the Monash group is literally putting the problem of leftover embryos on ice. And, in England, Edwards is "observing" spare embryos before they die and would like to undertake research on them.

Alarming. In a purely technical sense, the alarm currently being expressed over these fertilized eggs would appear to be out of proportion. The widely used subuterine conception device (UDI) regularly sloughs off embryos that are more advanced in development than those at issue in the lab. But such a legal inconsistency only highlights the fact that tampering with human reproduction—specifically aiding an accelerating the natural process—is an alarmingly charged issue.

Some elements of society are still unable to accept simple IVF as a means of treating infertile married couples, not to mention embryos and egg donations, freezing and *in vitro* embryo research. And some of these elements

The spare-embryo dilemma



Britain: Ever since British researchers Dr. Robert Edwards and Dr. Robert Steptoe announced their breakthrough in 1978, they have had to grapple with the issue of spare embryos, the extra eggs that are taken from the mother and fertilized in a petri dish but that are not used for implantation.

Recently, Edwards has had to "observe" the spare embryos for a maximum of seven days, at which time the scientists die. Critics charge scientists may in fact be delaying with him. Still, Edwards believes that, because the question of what humans do begins with foetal care as a natural extension of embryo research, research should be pursued for the benefit of mankind. One discovery could include the extraction of "stem cells" that later differentiate into specific organs. Hypothetically, these developing cells could be implanted into diseased or injured patients to stimulate the growth of healthy tissue.



The United States: To skirt the moral issue of spare embryos in the United States, a national task force has proposed an "in vitro" approach to the spare-embryo question. Scientists at Monash University in Melbourne, the most prestigious of the country's law firms, have frozen unfertilized eggs for later use. The same technique, as cryopreservation is slowly and deliberately brought to -196°C. Theoretical, several years later the embryo can be thawed and implanted. The new Australian approach includes supplying frozen embryos not only to couples who want more than one test-tube baby but also to other couples where reproductive organs cannot supply sperm or eggs. The proposed techniques meet new legal and ethical issues. Can current laws accommodate the adoption of an embryo, for example? And what should be done about the rights of test-tube babies who want to know their biological parents?



Australia: Australian researchers have taken an unconventional, "hands-off" approach to the spare-embryo question. Scientists at Monash University in Melbourne, the most prestigious of the country's law firms, have frozen unfertilized eggs for later use. The same technique, as cryopreservation is slowly and deliberately brought to -196°C. Theoretical, several years later the embryo can be thawed and implanted. The new Australian approach includes supplying frozen embryos not only to couples who want more than one test-tube baby but also to other couples where reproductive organs cannot supply sperm or eggs. The proposed techniques meet new legal and ethical issues. Can current laws accommodate the adoption of an embryo, for example? And what should be done about the rights of test-tube babies who want to know their biological parents?

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A conscience for new lives

With scientists able to extract—and alter—the natural cycle of birth and death or save point, the medical issue is whether they should. One leading North American authority on bioethics is Dr. David J. Roy Soames (in 1976) and director of the Centre for Bioethics at the Coastal Research Institute of Montreal. He was interviewed by Maclean's contributing editor Pat Ghoshaloff.

Maclean's: Do you feel that abortion techniques outside the womb as a method for treating infertility is now generally considered to be morally acceptable?

Roy: Yes. Used within a marriage as a way of bringing about conception, I think that people who still feel it is not morally acceptable do so not because of the choice itself to use an infertile couple but because they fear the subsequent things that might be attempted with human embryos.

Maclean's: What are the major ethical questions raised by in vitro fertilization (IVF) and the research connected with it?

Roy: The first is should any experimentation of this kind be permitted to a human embryo fertilized in the laboratory? The second is that, if some forms of experimentation are permitted, how far along the line of development may they be allowed? Within the first week? The first two weeks?

Maclean's: When should the state interfere? I'm thinking about the only for monogamy in Britain and Australia.

Roy: One can argue very persuasively for a moratorium on embryo research and IVF until the general public and its representatives can sufficiently catch up and be able to formulate wise public policy guidelines. I support that. But one would be aware if one were to simply delay and delay achievement of public policy, because then one is putting the scientific community under enormous pressure and increasing the chances of intensifying the bitterness and relativity of scientists.

Maclean's: Should we allow the research community to monitor itself?

Roy: Definitely not. In the area of research on the human embryo I do not think that the moment has yet arrived for us to move ahead with any experiments

than on the human embryo. We have to analyse all of the potential projects and take a look at what they are there for and what their implications and consequences may be.

Maclean's: Are you personally worried about the quiet manner in which much of the human IVF work-up stage has been conducted here in Canada?

Roy: Well, I think that at the beginning of any scientific endeavour not only is it inevitable that there is also a need to be able to move tentatively without having the public glass of critical observation disturbing the initial levels of work.

Maclean's: I wonder whether scientists who have been buried by publicity and now keeping quiet are creating fears that something unlawful might be going on.



Dr. Roy Soames must catch up to Maclean's guidelines

Roy: Yes, that is always one of the most dangerous aspects of science, particularly fearful secrecy. Exaggerated fears of those who are not privy to the private information inevitably arise.

Maclean's: At what point should the public be informed?

Roy: When the science has developed to the stage where methods and blocks of knowledge have crystallized to the point where one can clearly foresee a social application in the form of a technology.

Maclean's: And you think we have reached that point in IVF?

Roy: Given the activities in England, Australia, the United States and elsewhere, this is definitely the moment. Perhaps it is even a bit late. ☐

COVER

caused widespread respect and influence. Although the opinions of individual churchmen vary, the official position of the Roman Catholic Church as an organization also applies to IVF: anything that separates the human act of love from procreation is wrong. Two powerful right-wing groups in the United States have also made their positions resoundingly clear. Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, condemns IVF on the grounds that "The doctors are driving us into an area far too sacred for human beings to be involved in." And Judi Brown, president of the powerful anti-abortion group American Life Lobby, is appalled at in vitro fertilization because it is a mechanical disturbance of the natural course of things.

As far as the more innovative applications and spin-offs of IVF research, some prominent members of the medical and legal professions are urging caution. Speaking to the annual meeting of the British Medical Association (BMA) in July, Michael Thomas, chairman of its ethics committee, commented: "The medical profession has to look at itself in the mirror. We must make sure that we are not doing something that will make the nation call us that we were 'nuts.' And Justice Michael Donald Kirby, chairman of the Australian Law Reform Commission, is equally emphatic: "Let it not be the epitaph of our generation that we proved ourselves brilliant in the dazzling field of scientific endeavour but morally bankrupt. Let us hope sincerely that we as a people would not believe or did not have the courage to sort out the responsibilities for our society and for the human species." He declared.

Such warnings are having an effect: in IVF clinics and laboratories around the world in the United States the clampdown on IVF has been particularly harsh. As the largest nation in the world engaged in organized IVF programs, there are fewer than 10 facilities throughout the country, and only 11 test-tube babies have resulted from them. Far from being the leader in IVF-related research, the United States lags behind. Since 1979 no grant applications for IVF research have been considered by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), the federal funding agency for medical research. Dr. Howard Jones, who heads the NIH's IVF program with his wife, Georgiana, claims: "The Moral Majority is responsible for the unethical actions of the NIH in withholding money for this research."

In Britain the BMA has issued a statement advising "doctors not to take part in any such extension of in-

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mental work beyond that which is necessary to carry out the procedure of *in vitro* fertilization. "But there is little of the polarization that characterizes IVF work in the United States. Instead, there is a sense of cooperation between government and the medical community as they try to come to terms with the implications of IVF. Two committees, one convened by government and one by the BMA, are independently investigating IVF research. Mary Warwick, senior research fellow at Oxford University, who chairs the governmental committee, says cogently, "We will be exploring public attitudes about the possibilities opened up by test-tube babies, artificial insemination and other sorts of things. The committee, she says, will also look into making IVF more widely available under the National Health Service, Britain's medicine."

In Australia, however, the government has, says originally, "We will be exploring public attitudes about the possibilities opened up by test-tube babies, artificial insemination and other sorts of things. The committee, she says, will also look into making IVF more widely available under the National Health Service, Britain's medicine."

In Australia, however, the govern-

ment is as far and nearly as co-operative. Following the recommendations of a committee appointed by the attorney general's office for the State of Victoria, Prof. Carl Wood, director of the Monash University-Bassett IVF Research Unit, ordered a revision of a strict, anonymous-donor egg program and restricted the Monash IVF program to married couples. No action was taken, however,

until application of IVF with test-tube babies, whether stimulated by constituents or public demand. And, as in the case of artificial insemination and surrogate mothers, there is almost no legal or ethical legislation in place to accommodate these applications.

As for who should form guidelines, Arthur Parsons, head of the ethics committee of the Canadian Medical Associa-

on, says the responsibility does not rest with doctors. Says Parsons: "We can only hope that when the education program is better understood, people will see it more favorably." Adds Tousignant: "As soon as the ethical difficulties are sorted out, we will get back to work."

In Canada medical scientists exploring IVF work initially envisioned nothing more controversial than mastering the techniques. And they have decided to solve the "spare-embryo" problem by following the U.S. model and implementing all fertilized eggs. But it seems inevitable that some day some of the broader and more volatile applications of IVF will catch Canadian attention, whether stimulated by constituents or public demand. And, as in the case of artificial insemination and surrogate mothers, there is almost no legal or ethical legislation in place to accommodate these applications.

As for who should form guidelines, Arthur Parsons, head of the ethics committee of the Canadian Medical Associa-

tion, says the responsibility does not rest with doctors. Says Parsons: "It is society's place to answer these questions, not the medical profession's." Dr. David Bay, head of the Centre for Bioethics in Montreal (page 56), takes that argument a step further. He calls for the creation of a "seminar of elders"—intelligent, informed lay people who could act as a bridge between scientists working in fields such as IVF and the general public.

Expertise. The morally explosive question of second-generation IVF research will not trouble Canadians immediately. IVF programs established and planned in Canada are based on, and evolving from, a solid, noncontroversial base of animal research and research is basic reproduction and fertility. Dr. Pierre Bois, president of the Medical Research Council, which expects to be receiving four funding proposals for IVF this year, says, "The knowledge is there, the problem is to adapt it." Already, the most groups in reproductive biology at the University of Western Ontario, a world leader in studies on ovulation, David Armstrong of that group says that the expertise will lead to better techniques to determine whether an egg is "ripe" for fertilization. The University of Calgary, which already treats 700 couples a year in an infertility clinic that is engaged in just about everything that IVF aims to put together, "is first-rate genetic [and cell] program," stemming from the clinic's strong background in human sperm studies, says Dr. Patrick Taylor. And other Canadian reproductive scientists are looking for guidance from the West, where Dr. Gailen is applying his knowledge of the female reproductive system to IVF.

If clinical programs are to achieve success in Canada, the research foundations at each centre must be strong. And that is difficult to achieve without adequate funding from deficit-strapped Ottawa. "We are actively searching for private donations," says Walter Szakal, chairman of the department of obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Toronto.

With domestically produced IVF programs a virtual certainty in Canada, the country's 36,000 infertile couples can be cautiously optimistic. It will take time to achieve the technical expertise necessary for carrying out test-tube babies with regularity. But time is exactly what is needed in sorting out the ethical guidelines that must accompany the broader aspects of the techniques, which repeat some and frustrate others but which will surely reach us all.

Wyn Judah Davies and Gulan Murray are in Toronto, Edward Delu in London, Michael Gray in Vancouver, Philip Gormley in Sydney and William Lawler in Kingston.



The Rankins. "It never occurred to us that we were doing something immoral."

The continuing act of love

THE births of Colin and Gregory Rankin on March 25, 1982, in Guelph, Ont., made headlines throughout North America. To this week, they were this continent's first successful birth-a-reaching-fetus fertilization outside the womb, to parents Ian and Catherine, the fraternal twins were a double success: to eight years of dreams and prayers.

Last week, with her seven-month-old sons, sleeping in the background, Catherine Rankin, 36, and her husband were assured that they are normal in every way. Compared to her other two offspring from a previous marriage, Rankin does act one difference—Colin and Gregory are good, even-tempered babies.

The Rankins shared a profound desire to have children. From the time they were married in 1974 Catherine had attempted to have another child, but two abnormal fetal pregnancies ended her hopes. "We tried adoption," she says, "and wasn't able to get anywhere." Then, in 1978, when they learned about Dr. Patrick St. Septime in England and *in vitro* fertilization (197), says Rankin, "it was overcast reasons."

Rankin dictated that 50 per cent of all couples attempting IVF fail to qualify for the procedure and, of those who do, only 25 per cent are successful. "I was told if the odds were 100 to one, or even 1,000 to one, as long as there was no danger to me, we should try it," she recalls. The moral controversy over surrogacy areas IVF did not exist for them. "It never occurred to us that we were doing something immoral," she says. "It's just that we're doing something wrong with living, moving children. That was an act of love."

Unable to obtain IVF in Canada at that time, the Rankins went to England. Once begun, the procedure, involving one diagnostic and three back and forth to England, cost them about \$25,000. The Rankins had agreed in advance that there would be two attempts at IVF and that if they succeeded, this birth would be the only one.

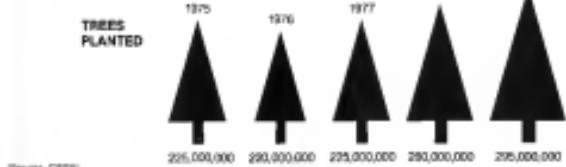
When newspaper stories of the implant and separating birth appeared, the Rankins tried to cap their. They had hoped to remain anonymous, but the amount of publicity and the demands left the family reeling. Reporters deluged the house with calls and tracked down friends and neighbors. An unlisted telephone, an agent and exclusive one-on-one newscasts of their story through The Toronto Star, which earned them roughly \$20,000, helped to limit access.

With 2 a.m. feedings behind her, Catherine Rankin is now fending ahead with her plans to be an advocate for IVF in Canada. "What Ian and I hope for is regional centres, such as those in England, so children couples will not have to travel thousands of miles." Rankin is also intent on removing the science-fiction aura surrounding IVF. "Recently, she spoke to a local Grade 13 science class. After she explained the procedure, a boy asked her whether "That's it?" That's all there is to it," Rankin laughs at the memory. "They asked, 'When you implant it in people, it really is hot?' I said, 'No, it's not.' And he asked, 'It's not, actually? Accessibility and more IVF births will do a lot to allow the Rankins to retain their telephone number and receive funds from the public eye."

—MARGARET CANADIAN in Toronto

Pulp and Paper Reports:

Expanding Forest Renewal



Source: CPFFA

Forestry experts are certain that Canada's forests can be much more productive. Generally superior trees can be developed and raised in nurseries. Silvicultural techniques can speed growth and increase timber yields. But very costs are involved.

Steps to accelerate forest renewal can be taken now, because it takes a long time to grow a tree in Canada. The most urgent need is reforestation of lands that have been harvested or destroyed by fire, plant

or pests or predators; land that is not suitable for farming, and basic pasture.

Financial investments over 90% of the nation's forests. They are as leaders in the pulp and paper industry. Government and industry must continue efforts to accelerate reforestation and other steps to increase the forest harvest. A plan of reforestation of low-cost fiber is needed to maintain Canada's competitive position in world

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A CFL season that might have been

By Hal Quinn

What a season it might have been. The National Football League players' strike made the Canadian Football League the only game on the continent. CFL fans outside of northern Alberta were presented with the tantalizing prospect of a team other than the Edmonton Eskimos winning the Grey Cup. Nelson Skulhany had left Montreal, the league's first domed stadium was under construction, expansion was on the wind down east, and the Toronto Argonauts were actually winning some games. But, as the CFL regular schedule wrapped up last weekend, much of the season's early promise had been swept away by the predictable and the unforeseen.

As football fans across the United States panted for their weekly pickin' fix during the first weeks of the NFL strike, the CFL was blasted on air by the National Broadcasters. The White American broadcasters snubbed over playing fairly "with the approximate dimensions of Manitoba," had such novel innovations as having "the fast Black guys play quarterback and the slow white guys run" the CFL, complained its way into the strike with such vehemence that, characteristically, the CFL stand-round-heads-and-instantly-covering-eyes the day after it got picked the plug. Perhaps it was just as well. Americans, accustomed to watching 28 pro teams with 28 different names, had probably enough with their down the lane diversity to differentiate between Rough Riders and Roughnecks. Their bewilderment would only have increased if they had been given the chance to watch the Saskatchewan Riders do the same. (The one, fresh last and out of the playoffs in the West, and the Ottawa Riders won five, last 21, and finished third in the East with a chance at the league championship.)

Meanwhile, the Eskimos grudgingly disappointed their rivals. Their brassy days of July when the Eskis lost three in a row gave way to sober acceptance of their excellence as the team ran up 10 wins. Any hopes that the Canadians would rise phoenix-like were dashed as the Eskimos found one less win with the rubble in Montreal than last year's Alouettes. But aid for the Coors quest to clean out last place in the East is perhaps on the way. Last week in Halifax the expensive Frenchmen prepared for the 1984 season was christened—the Atlantic Schooners. (If and when Te-



Holmes: Schooner logo: double lingo

rrificable. Next year's season ticket sales target of the CFL's last expansion club, the Lions, adds up to a capacity crowd for the Schooners. This month the 144 Telus-epoch panels that make up the roof of the new \$125-million stadium at B.C. Place are expected to be fastened over the structure. The Lions, as in their tradition, backed from the gate only to slink out of the playoffs—taking with them optimism for season ticket sales of 35,000 and prospects of filling the 60,000 seats next season.

Filling CFL seats may also be a challenge. The new United States Football League plans its inauguration next March, and already two of the best coaches in the CFL, Hugh Campbell of Edmonton and Ray Jack of Winnipeg, will open the new league in 1983. The two men have openly criticized the low salaries for CFL coaches, as compared to their USFL peers, and US-based CFL players are looking south longingly at the USFL dollars. The recent discoverers that there are salary disparities of as much as \$200,000 among CFL all-stars have not endorsed the league to players of any nationality. And a Canadian club was pleased about reports that Carling O'Keefe Ltd. of Toronto had purchased the USFL's Cincinnati Bengals.

Back on the field, for reasons that would baffle capitals and successful businesses, the Argos/Toronto have done little but lose games and make money since their last Grey Cup in 1982. But this season, thanks to a "run-and-shoot" offense, a healthy Cedric Holloway at quarterback and new head coach Bob O'Briovich, the Argos stunned the league and their rabid fans by finishing first in the East. In their first game Saturday they beat one of the league's "Riders" to set up a game at home in two weeks for a shot at the Grey Cup Nov. 26 in Toronto, leaving the Argonauts pallid. It off 26-14, either not willing or forgetting to collapse. Their new wins and a tie gave the Argos their first Eastern Conference first-place finish in 11 years. Meanwhile, the Eskimos were playing in the West with first place on the line, restoring a semblance of normalcy to a season that might have been.

By Michael Chapman in Atlanta and Malcolm Gray in Vancouver



The fluoride taps run dry

When I began my practice almost 17 years ago, I used to see kids with rampant tooth decay," says Toronto dentist Paul Massie. "Today, it is rare indeed to see a kid with a cavity that is without one. There is no question that the change is largely a result of fluoridation." While use of that fluoride generally comes from the toothpaste tube, it is largely the addition of fluoride to tap water that has made the remarkable improvement in dental health in cities and towns across North America since the Second World War. But this year, for the first time, supplies of the chemical additive have fallen below demand.



Massie: with patient, fluoride toothpaste is not enough

Studies have shown that fluoridation at levels less than the accepted standard of one part per million is of little value for cavity prevention. Toronto officials have been stockpiling shipments received over the past three months and plan to distribute at full levels during November and perhaps again in December. Meanwhile, dental health officials are scrambling to assess the ramifications and to propose alternative measures. "There have not been studies, to my knowledge, on the effects of insufficient fluoridation—that is a new situation," says James Shoshberg, president of the Ontario Society of Public Health Dentists.

Anticipating a fluoride-free winter, Shoshberg and 36 colleagues are preparing recommendations for city and borough councils in Toronto, calling for the introduction of in-school fluoride supplement programs for children until Grade 8. Proposals include a daily fluoride tablet (lasting 30 cents per child per month), a fortnightly fluoride mouth rinse (30 cents per child per month), or an expensive (and unlikely) pane-on fluoride application on teeth every six months by a professional.

Whatever the additional cost of the supplementary programs, it will be considerably less than the almost \$500,000 budget for year-long fluoridation in Toronto for water-supply treatment. (About 600 other Canadian cities also fluoridate their water.) But the extra cost will likely be a worthwhile investment: A 1976 study that examined the first 12 years of fluoridation in Toronto identified a savings reduction of 50 per cent in school-age children.

For a generation of Canadians who cannot remember life without fluoride, however, the current change may sound more like a tortuous jingle than a sensible medical warning. Worries dentists like Massie. "My patients do not seem concerned about the lack of fluoride—largely because they do not know how important it is."

—JEFFREY KOPMAN in Toronto

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Up a sweet, sad alley



GET CLOSEB
Linda Ronstadt
(REBA)

Two and a half years after the depths of *Mad Love*, generally known as her "new wave" album, Ronstadt rises again. She restores her reputation as a peerless interpreter of plaintive ballads and reveals new ease and vigor as a rock singer. *Living Proof* (The Moon is a Harsh Mistress) and Kate McGarrigle's *Talk to Me* of Mendocino are right up her alley, and, alas, and she renders them with tender restraint. The real ear-openers, however, are *I Know You Know* and *Liza* (two of several 1980s tunes deservedly revived) and the title track, on which she shows that she can belt with the best of them. In the past, when Ronstadt attempted to be ravishing, the results were stilted, as if she were trying too hard to prove her desirability. This time, fell-off defiance comes to her as naturally as tears.

LAST DATE Gwenvera Harris

Perhaps because of Brian Eno's production, so tidy and efficient at one time, more like computer programming, Harris' last few studio efforts have provided only wistful pleasure. However, revisited now, this album reveals again a sense that it is at once delicate and deathless and, surely as her best, by expert means, convincing. Flying fast and loose, Harris larks off with a sprightly rendition of Hank Snow's *Fee Money*. On *seed* proceeds effectively through a dozen top-notch songs which she has not previously recorded in a

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sole artist. On Carl Perkins' *Rebel* Harry grooves as she has never done before, and on Bruce Springsteen's *Racing in the Street* she is heartbreaking in a way that has not been her fault for years.

ABIAS & SYMPHONIES

Spacca
(Beauty/Quality)

Bright, fresh, ranging in age from 17 to 21 and hailing from Burlington, Ont., these four artists are unquestionably cornerstones on the Canadian scene. Regrettably, the quirks and whimsy of the Spacca's first album have been abandoned in favor of grander designs on *Arts & Symphonies*, the band's second album. Songs such as *Smiling in Winter*, a celebration of snow, and *A Girl in Two Places*, a study of schizophrenia, are disarmingly concise and clever, but words and vocals take a back seat to the



Spacca & Symphonies

uniquely symphonious. British producer Jake Paster has turned pretty bubbles of mutated ideas into swollen slabs of orchestrated electropop. The point of this is, presumably, dancing. However, a listener trying to keep pace with the monotonously speedy symphonies best would likely drop dead from exhaustion, if not first from boredom.

120-44

120-48

(Virgin/PolyGram)

On its first Canadian release, this respected group from Birmingham, England, demonstrates what art and artifice can do for us. Although there are eight band members, in 40 performances as tight and exhilarating the gently rocking rhythms of "root" music with just the eight touches of jazz horns and electronic percussions. Lyrically, the songs are simple, somewhat platitudinous statements about life. The music, sometimes reading Stevie Wonder at his most banal, is seductive, rhythmically tightfisted and inventively arranged with verve.

—DAVID LINTON/TORE



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LIVING

A female jab at the rules



Hutchkins working out challenging the prohibition against women boxing

When Heather Hutchkins emigrated to Canada 25 years ago, her heavy Glasgow accent made her a natural scapegoat for her Toronto classmates. As a result, when she was 6, her father began teaching her the macho art of street fighting, and she came to enjoy her schoolyard scuffles. Then she turned to the somewhat more genteel pursuit of boxing. Now a compact five feet, three inches and weighing 120 lb., Hutchkins wants to fight by the rules—but the battle has had to begin at the entrance to the ring. After years of perseverance in mastering the fight and job, Hutchkins, 30, is planning an exhibition match this month with another woman. By doing so, she is not only challenging her opponent but also flouting the law as Ontario government regulation prohibits public boxing matches for women.

All Canadian boxing matches require sanctioning from the provincial arms of the Canadian Amateur Boxing Association and licensing from the provincial athletic commissioner. For its part, CABA does not rule out women's competition, but the Ontario Athletics Control Act states that: "The commissioner shall not issue a licence to a female to take part in an amateur or professional boxing contest or exhibition." In most other provinces the laws are less specific, but the net result is that the activity is banned.

In response to a series of complaints from women boxers, Ontario's Minister of Sport, sport, the royal and ancient game, recently published—without the most intriguing courses, was also a member of the Ontario government's champion. A report of the committee to enthrall all golfers \$19.95. Bantam Publishing

track-and-field star Debbie Van Kirk belt. They expect to release a report by the end of 1983. Meanwhile, Hutchkins is trying to speed up legalization of women's boxing by setting up the Ontario Women's Boxing Association. Her opponent, Lanny Bawing, is one of the four four-day Payne female boxers, including Hutchkins, at Toronto's Newbrough Athletic Club. Another dozen women have contacted Hutchkins, wanting to become members. Says Spokane: "If a sufficient number of women are interested in boxing, I might make an interim recommendation to the minister."

Much of the official opposition seems to centre around the dangers of bodily injury. Authorities argue that there are no standard regulations to protect the physical well-being of women boxers. But Hutchkins points out that in 1976 California allowed women to box with menal permission. It ruled that rounds should be limited to two minutes each and that women should wear heavier padded gloves. Breast protection is mandatory, and contestants must sign a contract stating that they are not going "to the best of their knowledge" Hutchkins proposes that Ontario adopt similar regulations.

Besides the legalities, another obstacle to Hutchkins' goal is the resistance from male boxers. But Hutchkins is confident she will win over the skeptics. As noted, Elizabeth McGuff, who is a member of the Ontario Women's Boxing Association, has a book of distinctions: part 1: "At first blush, it's the kind of thing that draws a smile. But, if people are so ignorant women in the ring, maybe being staff should be allowed."

—CINDY BURKE in Toronto

MEDICINE

Improving a heart drug

For more than 200 years medical scientists have known that the natural product of the foxglove plant, digoxin, can slow the heart while strengthening its pumping action. Sold under the name of digoxin or digitoxin, the remedy has become one of the world's most widely used heart drugs. Like many medicines, however, it has its disadvantages. It is highly toxic and accounts for half of all prescription drug-induced hospital admissions. The tragic number of at least four babies at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children last year were caused by digoxin overdose. Now, a team of researchers at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton may be succeeded in making the drug safer by creating synthetic forms of digoxin.

The team, including scientist Randolph Wimmer and eight collaborators, is so far synthesizing four of the different compounds of digoxin. Produced from chemically forms of the male sex hormone testosterone, the compounds have been extensively tested and at least six of them have shown significantly improved ranges of safety over natural digoxin. One is so safe that a patient would have to take 50 times the compound's minimum therapeutic dose before suffering any effects. By contrast, just 1/16 times the therapeutic dose of digoxin can cause trouble.

The problem arises because doctors must prescribe digoxin in amounts that are a dangerous 60 per cent of the toxic dose in order to achieve the drug's therapeutic effects in most patients. It is a delicate balance if a patient receives too little digoxin, the following heart will not be stimulated sufficiently; if he receives too much, nausea and vomiting are induced, and the cardiac system can be damaged further.

Even though preliminary experimental results are promising, more testing must be done before the drug is ready for dispensing. Wimmer points out that what he has done is simply show that compounds with wider margins of safety can be made. The synthetic forms must be tested for length of effectiveness and oral acceptability, among other things. That will take several more years. Still, because of the US breakthrough, there is a comforting likelihood that a safer, less toxic digoxin will eventually be available.

—DAVID POLITIS in Fredericton



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FILMS

You can't go home again

BY

Directed by Serif Gören

The Turkish movie *Yol* has a great centre of gravity—the subject of home—which it treats perceptively, at times even movingly. Five prisoners are given a week's leave from an island prison, and each heads home ("you" won't track of life), thinking he is getting closer to an ever-elusive freedom. But *Yol* says that you can never go home again and suggests that even if you could, you might not want to. Three of the men (one is quickly re-arrested for loving his documents) return to a life that is happy/grey, their destinies turned out to be a kind of individual entropy. Although the movie concerns itself with many other things—being in a heavily policed state, coping with oppressive customs, the inevitability of pain and suffering in both situations—it is the pull of their men's roots that is most striking. When the young Karel Omer (Nasrettin Ozbayoglu) finally reaches his small village, he spends each day by himself's skies/valleys. He kneels to the ground, where waving all around him, and kisses it reverently.

Though Serif Gören is evidently exercised with directing, *Yol*, the action was caught by Yilmaz Guney from his prison cell in Turkey. Also the screenwriter, Guney edited the film into its

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A creepy, crawly comic book

CREEPSHOW
Directed by George A. Romero

The actors in *Creepshow* play to the gags and seem to be having a dandy time at it. Vivica廖登, Freda Payne, E.G. Marshall, Adrienne Barbeau, Carrie Nye, Hal Holbrook and Leslie Nielsen all work with large gestures and knowing smiles, fitting into

the broad style sought by the director, George A. Romero (*Night of the Living Dead*). A compilation of five short tales of terror written by Stephen King, *Creepshow* is an attempt at a celluloid comic book and is, by and large, successful, since it never for a moment takes itself seriously. King and Romero let their stories of bizarre carry the material—usually, because the stories themselves are pretty old hat and not terribly frightening.

A few of them are terribly funny, not the least of which is *The Lawrence Deuch of Jerry Verrill*, starring Ste-



Barbeau with friend, Hugo and meisters

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LABOR

When half a job is better than none



Air Canada pilots to stow off main layoffs, workers are turning to part-time work — perhaps permanently

By Lesley Krueger

Jan. 1, 1985, will not only mark a new year for Air Canada pilots but also the start of an innovative battle against unemployment. Last month the company's nearly 2,000 flyers voted to stop 147 pilot layoffs planned for next year by cutting their hours by five percent. The move will mean a \$4,000 salary loss to a top 747 captain. Why the willingness to sacrifice? "Perhaps the social conscience has changed," notes representative Roger Burgess-Webb of the Canadian Airline Pilots Association. Certainly the economy has. Pilots were assured if their laid-off colleagues would ever be rehired, because, as Burgess-Webb points out, "We are beginning to see that the economy cannot keep going up and up."

This gloomy perception and the desire to save as many jobs as possible has caused across-the-country experiments—some more or less desperate—at hour-slicing, work-sharing and part-time employment. In Yellowknife two bakers work four days for half a day each in a hope to keep their bakes home and work. In southern Ontario's industrial heartland, companies battle to stay afloat by keeping employees on the job part-time and on con-

tract employment, partners in the rest of the time. Says Employment Minister Lloyd Axworthy: "It may be that the conventional 40-hour week will not be the way we pattern our work at the end of the decade."

Until recently, the notion of part-time work was viewed as a temporary job-saving measure until industrial capacity and demand for workers could be

Employers, workers and government authorities are realizing that many jobs have, in fact, disappeared forever.

built to pre-recession levels. Increasingly, however, as the recession drags on and unemployment remains at double-digit levels, employers, workers and government authorities are realizing that many jobs have, in fact, disappeared forever. As a result, part-time work is becoming a permanent fixture in a long-term dilemma. In the meantime, as the ranks of new part-timers swell, authorities are scrambling to find mechanisms to handle the problems

that part-time workers, especially women, have traditionally faced: meager salaries, meager benefits and little opportunity for advancement.

One body currently scrutinizing the problem is a federal committee of inquiry into part-time work. As head of the \$400,000 task force, Joan Wallace has recently completed a cross-country tour, hearing more than 140 briefs on the 35 per cent of Canadians who now work part-time. She notes that the number has swelled in 30 years from 28 per cent. Her mandate includes the task of educating Canadians about alternatives to full-time work and, more controversially, considering legislation to increase and extend the range of benefits for part-time workers.

For now, business is offering little support. "I think it would require some attrition of opportunity," President Andrew McLean of the Retail Council of Canada, and, more candidly, Peter Doyle, director of industrial relations for the Canadian Manufacturers Association, agrees. "An work pattern change," he says, "there is great potential for part-time work in general. Businesses are not put in our way." Employers dislike the increased cost of paying benefits to workers, particularly such fixed expenses as health insurance, which often

most businesses 180 per cent of premiums. "We could end up paying full insurance for two people for one job," says Doyle But, as McKibbin points out, many part-time employees prefer cash to benefits. "When we have a part-time employee who is a student in college, he doesn't want to pay into a pension," Doyle says. "He wants take-home pay."

Labor leaders are also concerned about the rise of part-timers because, as Wallace notes, unions have long been battle to institutionalizing part-time work, a move they fear would erode the

rights and security of full-time workers. But Wallace says she sees a softening by labor—a belief that is disputed by national representative Murray Randal, of the Canadian Labour Congress. "In cases where full-time bargaining units have been threatened by the use of part-time workers as a reserve of cheap labor, our position has been to resist the expansion of part-time work," he says. "That's not to say, though, that conditions for part-timers shouldn't be improved." Some labor leaders are more sanguine about part-time. President Jean-Claude Parrot of

the militant and trend-setter Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) cheerfully admits that his union's early organization of part-timers started simply as enlightened self-interest. CUPW was certified as bargaining agent for part-time postal workers in 1965, a move that led to increased wages and benefits for part-timers but also, as Parrot notes, to a negotiated reduction in the number of part-time positions and a rise in full-time jobs. However, Parrot cautions, "We still think that, as much as possible, one person should be able to spouse a living for one family." It is a sentiment shared by workers themselves. According to Wallace's commission, 22 per cent of part-timers said they would prefer to work full-time.

But even new members of the part-time world find adjusting difficult at first. The few thousand teachers, for example, have this year chosen to share the job after returning from maternity leave. Christine Tristante teaches a combination Grade 5 and 6 class all morning at Mildred Hall Elementary, while Morgan White takes the afternoons, each at half their salaries and benefits. The situation, notes Tristante, has many possible pitfalls but also numerous advantages. "It's like living with someone. It can ruin a friendship," she says. "But we get to see our kids grow up and make our contributions here at school. It's the best of both worlds."

The Yellowknife teacher has two magicians—22 per cent of part-timers are women, and most choose not to hold full-time jobs. In fact, feminists have long worried that part-time work is a woman's ghetto. Notes Wallace: "The Quebec Advisory Council on the Status of Women said it was afraid this perpetuates the idea of women as being solely responsible for family care and able to take only part-time jobs." And President Leslie Phipps of the federal Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women group says she fears that "the extension of part-time work will be used by the government as a substitute for policy" on job creation and day care. Yet she notes that women who choose to work part-time should be protected.

Business, labor and government all agree that shorter work weeks seem inevitable and future "full-time" jobs could be closer to current part-timers than in their homes. The task now is to perfect the trend. "It's important to structure it well right now," says Phipps, "because that's the direction work seems to be taking." At issue is the changing structure of North America's economy. Research by economist professor Barry Hirsch of Boston College shows that during the 1970s, there was a permanent loss of more than 30 million jobs in the United States, many



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from the manufacturing sector. "In 1975 U.S. Steel closed more than 11 plants," notes Blanton, coauthor of *The Re-industrialization of America*. He adds that the proceeds then went toward buying Marathon Oil. "That's one way plants are closed: companies are moving out of their traditional industries and into others, then closing their own plants." Industries are also picking up their capital and moving to Third World countries, where costs are cheaper, he says. But, while this loss of manufacturing jobs has been balanced by a rapid growth in the retail and ser-

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But, says the program manager, it becomes a permanent measure under this system, layoffs are prevented when companies agree to maintain their work force part-time, while players are paid for enforced time in unemployment insurance premiums. Awoonorwodzi says his department is currently evaluating the program and that it will go to cabinet before the year is over with an analysis. "We certainly intend to extend it," says Awoonorwodzi.

But, were significantly, he is already considering a longer-term continuation of work-sharing in industries in which technological change will lead employees working part-time while, at the same time, being paid to attend training programs for the balance of their work week. "We have to attain higher levels of productivity, and to do that we have to move to the use of new technology," says Awoonorwodzi. "I can see part-time work could become an increasingly permanent part of industry as it adapts to these changes. The 40-hour week might no longer be the demands of the system, which is an advantage if people don't get recharged."

It is not the first time work weeks undergo change. A shift in work hours occurred during the Depression, when the average work week dropped to 30 hours. Canadian labour has been targeting the 40-hour week since the 1972 Standal Standard stresses it that was not meant to apply to Canada. However, he adds that if Canadian employers are going to be living in a time of 30-per-cent unemployment, they are going to have to address the question of what a part-time solution will consist of. "Are we going to support a government-subsidized group living off the government?" he asks. "Or have we got [part-time] employment and have we got to subsidize that?" Business leader McKibbin, however, points out that, while he is unable to predict trends, some futurists think this signals the "age of despotism."

Associate Pagan refuses to take an entirely pessimistic view. She says future increases in part-time work for both men and women could mean changing patterns. "We would see more sharing of responsibility for family if the partners worked part-time," she says. "Maybe we could even begin to see a situation working full time for a man and part-time for his wife." John Wallace points out that our ancestors may have used part-time work as a humans way to phase retirement-age people out of the workplace while work ethic is geared toward working full time than retiring," she says. "Maybe it's time to look at not only whether that's going to stay possible, but how desirable it really is."

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MEDIA

TV lights on the North

When the Dene chiefs of the Northwest Territories gathered for their annual national assembly in a school gymnasium near the Mackenzie River this summer, they appeared to be suffering from a common eye affliction. All were squinting under the unaccustomed glare of television lights. Until then, to most people in the North, bad news signals from southern Canada bearing such programs as *Senate Report* and *Levantine* and *Shindig* had sounded serenely that had had little previous experience with talking frogs and gift-urban humor. For the first time, a local television crew was taking Dene politics seriously.

The crew, *TV North*, a weekly newsmagazine show launched last month by the Northwest Territories, complete with a studio and an on-camera host in the person of Marie Wilson, The wife of a Dene Wilson, and his coworkers, face the almost overwhelming task of presenting topical items each week about the northern third of Canada—an area comprising two vast political jurisdictions of diverse languages, dialects and cultures, where travel costs are horrendous and the weather sometimes more so. At \$7,000 to \$8,000 per half-hour segment, the crew tries to film a number of stories on each trip. "The obstacles against success are pretty daunting," says Executive Producer John Ridge. "I just assumed we will get stuck in a snowstorm somewhere for a week."

The very existence of the show, however, spalls success for northern viewers. Nick Keishen, northern director of CBC-TV, points out that the show is going on despite the national network's sorry balance sheet and narrow program cuts. "The North has been the only region of the country not served by regional news and public affairs programming on television," he says. "And the North is an area where extremely significant events are happening." A recent testament, for example, featured stories about everything from Inuit seal hunting on Baffin Island, worrying about the impending loss of European sales because of a possible oil boycott, to a fire that destroyed Bill Seaman's landmark for trading store in Inuvik. Items from Ottawa, Regina, Whitehorse and Yellowknife complete the half-hour-long package, all produced by *TV North* crew.



Nick Keishen: politics and real markets

TV made its debut in the North with the launching of the first Arctic communications satellite in 1973 and the subsequent installation by the CBC of ground receiving stations in northern settlements. Since then, the challenge has been to offer northerners programs about themselves. In 1978 the Northern Services added a TV production unit to its modern studio building in Yellowknife, and Keishen drafted a new "major plan" for northern television.

Funds for this plan were not approved by the CBC. Keishen received enough money to introduce some northern content in the form of public service announcements inserted in commercial breaks, and "soft" documentaries. The first two documentaries produced by CBC North but made when they borrowed from the National Film Board of Canada from the northern territories, as well as from such nations as Australia, where aboriginal rights are an issue.

Meanwhile, native groups moved to counter the cultural invasion of TV by setting up their own broadcasting organizations. Groups such as the Council for Yukon Indians and the Dene Nation are leaving the fee points of production and are beginning to negotiate for airtime. The Inuit Broadcasting Corp. has been broadcasting over the CBC network, serving the eastern Arctic for a year and a half, with five hours a week of entertainment, news and current affairs in the Inuktitut language. It has production units in Ottawa, Iqaluit, Baker Lake and Eureka Point. "Northern natives are not against TV anymore," says Kendall Longfield, project adviser to *TV North*.

As the flagship of the Northern Ser-

vices, *TV North* has come up with a novel approach for coping with the linguistic diversity of its already try audience of 12,000 people. It would have about 12,000 audience members in the North were to assemble. Most travel to Yellowknife, Inuvik (population 6,800), each Tuesday night. *TV North* is shown in the eastern Arctic in Inuvik and to the Yukon and western Northwest Territories in English, with simultaneous radio broadcast to the western Northwest Territories in Slavey, the predominant Indian language there. On Sunday evenings the broad-

cast are repeated in reverse—in the east in English and in Inuktitut in the west for the western Arctic Inuit.

Keishen argues that the show may not be the same as by supplying northern stories needed by regional interests and user groups such as *The Journal*. But the program was an answer to the recent cuts. *TV North* was scheduled to run 34 weeks, but only 24 are covered by the current fiscal year. "We haven't any word yet on the rest," Keishen says, "but I expect it might not be pleasant news."

—JOHN GORDON in Yellowknife



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GOOD DRINKS BEGIN WITH MCGUINNESS

The mystery of the mole

FOR SERVICES RENDERED
By John Bennett
(Doubleday, 229 pages, \$25.85)

On the morning of March 24, 1972, counterespionage agent Leslie James Bennett had just taken the day's documents from his safe when he was unexpectedly called into the office of senior Security Service (CIS) John Sturz. As John Szwarcsky's biography in *For Services Rendered*, Bennett looked his boss in the eye and made his way to his boss's office. "We're lifting your security clearance," Sturz said rapidly. "There are some doubts about your loyalty. We want you to be interviewed."

The stark intercession marked the end of Bennett's career as a medium spy-catcher with the Mounties, most of which was spent running the Russian desk, and the beginning of a life of exile from what he called "my beloved country." From that day on, his CIS was noted by reason that he had sold out to the CIA and worked as a high-ranking mole within the top secret Security Service. A two-year investigation had failed to produce solid evidence against him, so did an immediate week-long interrogation by senior officers of the force. But it did not matter; his loyalty had been questioned, and Bennett was of no further value. For "possession of ill health," as Bennett later maintained, he was given a medical discharge.

John Szwarcsky, the award-winning investigative journalist who first dissected the Security Service's Men in the Shadows, scops deeper into the nth-level world of spies and counterespionage to determine whether or not Bennett deserved his severe fate. With Kim Philby's burned file in Moscow in 1963 (see step ahead of his arrest by British police), the West had undeniable proof that the KGB had penetrated the upper echelons of some of its top intelligence agencies. Men in the Security Service, however, frustrated by a string of failures to gain results from double agents in the 1950s and 1960s, began to examine their record for clues. The prevailing logic pointed to a Soviet mole. In painstaking detail Szwarcsky documents each failure that the force studied in search of the traitor's identity. Every time suspicion went wrong, his colleagues in Ottawa had been involved.

How far Szwarcsky was able to burrow within the CIS is evidenced by his knowledge of office politics, the petty jealousies and rivalries that led, to a large degree, to Bennett's identification

as the suspected mole. An elaborate plot was set to trap him. Phoney information was passed to Bennett that a Soviet defector would rendezvous in Montreal. Only eight people knew about the operation, and only Bennett believed it was real. The intended area for the meet was a desolate one, and surveillance posts were set up in plain, craggy places. The winds drove the clouds across this most secret in man's world, shadowed finally by history's appointed hour: "Then," he writes, "a messenger who had been telephoned over Montreal and a member of the local Soviet consulate who had been identified as a KGB officer passed through the trap." If the Soviets had not been tipped off, then why was an agent poised to foil the detection?

Whether Bennett was guilty of treason or the KGB agent's presence was merely a coincidence is a question that remains unanswered, even with Szwarcsky's remarkable book. But, while he seems to lean strongly to Bennett's innocence, he gives great evidence what are going to get—bearing a major information bottleneck akin to Igor Gouzenko's defection and revolution in 1945—in order to make up their own minds. Szwarcsky's book is marked by a lively writing style that makes any thriller come alive. That Szwarcsky does not appear to have sacrificed in interviewing Bennett, who lives in Australia, in determining his guilt or innocence, does not matter. —LINDA DURR

Bennett in 1977: a real spy master



The important things in life

THE SWELL SEASON
By Josef Szwarcsky
Translated by Paul Wilson
(Lester & Orpen Denzey, 226 pages, \$18.85)

A lthough of the dark eyes and luscious chestnut hair and the climbing parts with the heart-shaped leather patch right where it hangs, Tanya Szwarcsky the most as he scrabbled up rock faces behind her. Dany's teenage last seties as 24 girls in the six connected stories of *The Swell Season*, every pretty possibility in the "beautiful hilly town of Kastelice." He loves them all intensely for the few hours before they say a final au-revoir to their fathers' catch them. But only Tanya can pull him closer of the same time as she brazenly pushes him away. Tanya had a blonde-blond in her window. Above the wooded hills the moon pecked out from behind a cloud, blanching the forest in romantic light like an old painting, and illuminating the dark glass in Tanya's window.... I stood there in the snow like a frozen past, up to my ears in love, and the snow fell slowly and steadily.

The light touch of juvenile romance, the dark shadow of the wartime blacked-out window in which Tanya blithely loves her, the story is a perfect introduction to the genius of novelist Josef Szwarcsky. His few sentences at least twice before about Tanya, the uncomplicated teenager who wants to be free to pursue her jazz and cool girls in Germany-occupied Czechoslovakia. But both his famous novels, *The Blue Seraphim*, published just before he left Prague for permanent exile in Canada

in 1968, and his first novel, *The Compendium*, which ends with the Red Army marching into Kastelice, are darker works in which Szwarcsky's adult mind often passes judgment on the thoughts of the boy. In these new tales it is almost as if Szwarcsky has taken to heart something Tanya says at the end of *The Compendium*: "I didn't have anything against anything, just as long as I could play just as my stomach... And as long as I could watch the girls, because that meant being alive." The Swell Season, written in praise of the girls and the boys who served the Nazi order in Nazi towns, is subtitled "A short on the important things in life."

Szwarcsky thinks that the issue of a "good teenager" is markedly stuffy stuff when compared with the degradation of the Second World War. But Szwarcsky has his own points to make. Tanya's mother-of-fathers about the restrictions imposed by the Nazis is surprisingly honest. He gets heropically plain out of feeling the German officers over jazz. Falling in love with a Jewish girl, though, is simply a no-win situation under the circumstances, and he avoids it. Helping the parish priest rewrite the whole church registry to dispense the marriage of the saint Jewish girl is a "perfect Aryan" (read: aggiornato) Tanya because it interrogates a tyrot. Sex is more important to her than God or war. Szwarcsky, who for such genteel stuff has had his name wiped out of Czech literary history and whose work passes in his homeland illegally from hand to hand, is apidical in the sense that drives both the hard-line left and right road. "Catholicism de-sugars don't like real life (other people)," he writes in 1977, "because it causes us to be controlled, they laud the product of yearning for life, however that, too, evades control...." Szwarcsky's characters are always less than logically correct, less than heroic, more than alive.

The *Swallow Books* major series that warmly deals with his 14 years in Canada, in the hands of Paul Wilson, the excellent translator of this book, and should be published next fall. Meanwhile, Szwarcsky celebrates the birth of his 30th, an irreducible and elusive at 34 different fases of his years. Memory failed and had turned *The Swell Season* into a perfect secretariat that still teaches as great novelist it's wags observe: "To no literature is forever blooming a born." Szwarcsky has written, "singing about youth when youth is irretrievably gone, singing about your homeland when in the acknowledgment of the times you find yourself in a land that lies over the ocean, a land—no matter how hospitable and friendly—where your heart is not."

—ANNE COLLINS



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The president who tried harder

KEEPING FAITH
By Jimmy Carter
(Bantam, 622 pages, \$21.95)

In the final weeks of 1980, as his days in the Oval Office dwindled to their inevitable few, Jimmy Carter and his advisers were frequently heard suggesting that history would be kinder to his presidency than American voters had been. It will be decades before that brave prediction can be fully tested, but already the Carters have begun to lay foundations for sympathetic, revisionist histories. In recent weeks former attorney general Griffin Bell and former chief of staff Hamilton Jordan have published generous treatments of the Carter years. Now, James Earl Carter Jr., himself, peasant farmer turned politician, has weighed in with his own sober, introspective defense.

There are few surprises in *Keeping Faith*. In its author, the book is both an unadorned, straightforward account of plain and not terribly exciting. Drawing heavily on diaries, kept under the crushing load of presidential duties, Carter traces the fierce hopes and desperate lows of four tumultuous years—from that bright day in 1977 when he walked past the cheering multitude on the inaugural parade route to the morning four years later when, ached with fatigue, he stood at Ronald Reagan's swearing-in ceremony, swearing that 52 American hostages had finally been freed from Iran.

Between those tumultuous bounds of his presidency, Carter reflects on this gulf separating his goals from his achievements. A shallow Congress,

Carter with Soviet Ambassador Anatoli



YES NO

"I admire the Queen and the British, and treasure the heritage they have given us, but I think it's ridiculous that every time the government tries to draw back from that traditional relationship a little (if only because it's 1982 and not 1882) it is accused of offering another Liberal sop to Quebec."

—Peter Traeman on
Dominion Day/Canada Day



"Canada is not more independent by changing the name of its birthday from Dominion Day to Canada Day. It's simply a country where revisionism like this betrays a smallness of spirit, a kind of pettifogging touting up our linguistic heritage, to suit the schemes of politicians who have no poetry in their souls."

—Jan Tennant on
Dominion Day/Canada Day

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vigilant and powerful lobby, quiescent allies—all of them and more stood like determined roadblocks in the path of Carter's ambitions. His narrow, hard-won victories—energy legislation, civil service reform, the contentious Panama Canal treaties—expended vast sums of political capital that left little in strategic reserve.

Carter himself contributed to the problem. Having campaigned against Washington's institutional lethargy and waste, he was never completely accepted, even by fellow Democrats. This chronic alienation forced him to appeal directly to Americans, believing that they would respond to his stern preaching, much as his obedient Sunday school classes in Baptist Georgia once had. If Carter declared the energy crisis the moral equivalent of war, Americans would rally. If Carter were perceived as decent and indomitable, then Americans would willingly lend support.

These premises held for a time, even though that became unreliable in July, 1979, when Carter retreated to Camp David and announced that he and his team had reached a breakthrough in talks on the Americas dialogue. "The consensus was that the public acknowledged our ability to articulate problems and to devise good solutions to them, but doubted our capacity to follow through." It was not pleasant for me to hear this but I felt their analysis was sound." The 14-month-long drama of the Iranian crisis, which held the United States hostage to a society in mid-revolution, did nothing to temper that judgment. One interesting disclosure is that CIA agents posed as journalists in an effort to solicit intelligence in Tehran. It is widely suspected that they posed as Canadian TV newsmen. More than inflation, interest rates or Edward Kennedy's presidential challenge, Carter's impotence in Tehran spelled electoral disaster.

Not surprisingly, Carter devotees the core of the book, 350 pages, to his administration's single substantial achievement—the Camp David accords. His daily diary account of the summit privately chronicles Anwar Sadat's impulsive concessions (against the advice of aides), Menachem Begin's taciturn analysis of every clause and the tortuous negotiations, rescued from apparent collapse only by Jimmy Carter's determination not to fail. This was surely the best of Carter's tenacious pursuit—producing a peace treaty between ancient enemies. Though still incomplete, Camp David remains a landmark of Middle East diplomacy. And the evidence that presidential power—though severely circumscribed by Congress, the courts, the special interests and the inescapable law of change—can still decisively shape events.

MICHAEL FOWLER

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Shades of red on the right

RADICAL TORONTO: THE CONSERVATIVE TRADITION IN CANADA

By Charles Taylor
(Anansi, 222 pages, \$19.95)

As the Liberal party continues its long, and collegial, to Canada, a major question about the future of the Progressive Conservatives is whether left- and right-wing Tories can live together in the same party. Drawing heavily on U.S. neoconservatism, the Tory right tends to be pro free enterprise, anti-Communist and suspicious of nationalism. Left-wing Tories, on the other hand, pride themselves on being the guardians of an indigenous tradition of socially concerned, tolerant, nationalist conservatism. At the extreme, Canada's radical Tories are almost indistinguishable from moderate socialists. Is there the unique Canadian answer to the "Red Tory"?

Most of the Conservative, whom Charles Taylor finds gathering in his search for "some form of intelligent, compassionate conservatism," come in moderate shades of red. In eight elegant essays Taylor shows his admiration for the social consciousness of constitutional expert Eugene Forsey, the passion for continuity in the thought of philosopher George Grant, the "conservatism and thoughtful liberalism" unifying historian W.L. Martin's Toryism and the reformist bent of such politicians as Robert Stanfield and David Crombie. Taylor has little use for any Toryism related to laissez-faire capitalism, neo-conservatism or economic liberalism, all of which seems to him "more American than Canadian."

However, Radical Tories should not be mistaken for a grade to Canadian conservatism, past or present. Of Taylor's two political heroes, one, Stanfield, was a clear failure as party leader, leading his party to defeat in three general elections. The other, Crombie, had the dubious achievement (for a Red Tory) of leading the movement to save downtown Toronto for the well-to-do. Probably because he is not interested in anything but radical Toryism, Taylor makes no effort to come to grips with successful Tory politicians such as William Davis or Peter Lougheed. Davis and his predecessors, for example, are dismissed as "the bland, strong rulers of my native province" — not my kind of Tories! Radical Tories, then, is a study of intellectual, rather than practical, conservatism.

This is unfortunate, even at the intel-

lectual level, because any open-minded traveller searching for Canadian conservatism ought to have noticed the mainstream of that tradition. After the First World War moderate Tories such as Robert Borden, Howard Ferguson and Sir Joseph Flavelle blended their beliefs in tradition, community and order with a concern for economic liberalism. It worked best in Ontario but was observed on the national level by the mid-careers of party leaders from the days of the arrogant Arthur Meighen to those of the down but buffeted Stanfield.

In these personal essays Taylor neither denies nor disputes the fact that he is the son of one of Canada's most famous and successful businesses, E.P. Taylor. But Radical Tories, like Taylor's earlier study of root-seeking intellectuals in *The Journeys: A Canadian Pattern*, is a journey in which the author sees deference to need any useful, sympathetic investigation of his own roots. In some passages, such as Taylor's description of a lunch with George Grant at the York Club, the book sounds like a patriotic overstatement. Radical Tories occasionally read like a tract for rural kids who have never really considered. More important, however, the book reflects Taylor's personal taste. It does not fail to even to gross with banality, economics and enterprise. The long-term effect of Radical Tories will probably be to obscure and further the historic reachiness of the termans, in what is now the most vital and interesting tradition of Canadian political thought.

—MICHAEL BLISS

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLERS LIST

Fiction

- 1 Space, Whistler (3)
- 2 *Different Seasons*, Atwood (1)
- 3 *The Story of Edgar Sawtelle*, O'Brien (2)
- 4 *The Perfect Match*, Linton (4)
- 5 *The Prodigious Breakfast, October 20*
- 6 *The Moose of Dapart*, Moles (6)
- 7 *The Valley of Bones*, Axel (7)
- 8 *Spindleshanks*, Ardouin (8)
- 9 *The White Plague*, Heribert (9)
- 10 *Marathon*, Pender (9)

Nonfiction

- 1 *The Establishment Man: A Portrait of Power*, Novak (1)
- 2 *Tomes of Gold, Feet of Clay*, Stewart (1)
- 3 *Jane Fonda's Workout Book*, Fonda (3)
- 4 *Heaven and Hell on the Hill*, French (3)
- 5 *Canada with Love*, Steele (3)
- 6 *Edith Kowalewski*, Kowalewski (3)
- 7 *Women and States* (3)
- 8 *The Great Code*, Price (3)
- 9 *Living, Loving and Learning: Biographies* (3)
- 9 *Name Is The Many*, Abbott and Traper (3B)
- 10 *Malice in Blanchefield*, Finkenthaler (3)

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A game of toy soldiers

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY
CTV, Nov. 14, 16 and 27

The American Civil War embodied the tension of the emerging society itself—black slave vs. free white, the costly, agrarian South against the hard-hulled, industrial North. It is little wonder that *Grey* with the Wind remains, in hard dollars, the biggest conference box office success in the history of movies. At double the length of the 1992 epic and with at least three times as many principal players, *The Blue* and *The Grey* ellipsize under its 10-hour wings. The regal-soldier sequences (adapted from Bruce Catton's *Pillar of Fire* (a sprawling history) in part high school civics lesson and part *The War of the Worlds* for all its exhibition, *The Blue* and *The Grey* wavers between wanting to tell us the truth and trying to draw us into a family saga.

The drama, overlaid on the patriotic history accounts for much of the trouble. At the centre is John Geyser (John Hawkesworth), a淳厚 Virginian who, after witnessing a breaking, moves to the



Pack caught between both and drama

contrived for its patriotic themes.

The script calls upon no less a celebrity than Abraham Lincoln (Gregory Peck, with his customary indifference nose but without any idea of how to play that complex, conflicted titan) to push young Geyser into the job of sketchbook journalist to show the human face of the war. However, the extensive scenes of hand-to-hand combat are fought by anonymous soldiers with whom we have no emotional identification. The intimacy and honor of battle is lost, and *The Blue* and *The Grey* begins to resemble a game of toy soldiers.

Finally, the cannon fire and the kame fires drown each other out. *The Blue* and *The Grey* manages to assemble a spectacular cast but pays off in mostly competent (and entirely forgettable) performances. While Colm Feore's Dowd is affecting as Geyser's mother, the role never seems out of its sentimental category. The other two paternalistic Stellar, Hopkins, as abolitionist John Brown, channelling Biblical exegesis, and, led to the screen all too soon, "We simply wait in vain for the almighty, but gripping, histronics of Scarlet O'Hara, cleaving the earth and bellowing, "As God is my witness, I'll never be hungry again!" Mettlicious and overactive, *The Blue* and *The Grey* leaves us rooting for something nutritious too.

—BILL MCNAUL

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Stardust sprinkled across the stage

THEATRE

By Ronald Harwood
Directed by Timothy Seward

Star vehicles are uncommon in Canadian theatre. Only during Robin Phillips' regime as artistic director of the Stratford Festival were productions regularly lauded or condemned for showcasing such megastars Brian Bedford and Maggie Smith—often at the expense of the play and the rest of the cast. It is appropriate, therefore, that the Vancouver Playhouse production of Ronald Harwood's hit *The Dresser*, which opened this country's Broadway-bound spike, considers the role of Stratford's starfish in the form of Phillips himself, as his first Canadian acting role, and William Hurt, the star of Stratford actors.

At 61, Hurt, as an actor, is Canada's closest approximation of the character he portrays in *The Dresser*. Sir, an adorably amiable, much-honored actor-manager, drags his tattered Shakespearean troupe through the English provinces in 1945 under the threat of inundation from German bombs. Phillips plays Norma, his dresser and unrepentant lover of 16 years, a hasty housewife whose mind-bender emotions are totally devoted to getting Sir—a winged, bearded cyprin who is close to a nervous breakdown—onstage as King Lear. Wit and sickness notwithstanding, the show must go on.

The London and Broadway productions have proven *The Dresser* to be a guaranteed money-maker. It is also long-winded, slick-ridged and void of dramatic interest beyond what its stars can generate from their own grab bags of acting tales. The play is little more than a backstage convention of theatre stereotypes—the hard-bitten female stage manager, the star-struck ingenue, the star's long-suffering wife—and the issues it presents are equally conventional. Does Sir suffer on for the greater glory of art or out of sheer self-interest? Both, evidently, but Harwood obscures the question with speculations invoking the magic of theatre, a mystery that is sometimes often appears wry and sympathetic. Elementary problems of staging have not been solved and other stages in London before an imaginary audience behind a wall system, but when addressing "them" after the performance, he comes downstage and speaks to the real audience. The effect is merely note, and impinges blackouts only compound the confusion.

Roaming away at mezzines back and forth, Hurt strides through these petty annoyances like a colossus. With very humor and masterful physical control, he transforms Sir from a whiney pile-of-serves into an imposing monarch who, barely remembering his opening line after 227 performances, puts it off for the last line. Phillips affords Norma with a wistful, reflective quality which would have counterpointed Hurt were effectively if Timothy Seward's galvanic direction had not set to many slack moments in the dialogue. Norma's many whooshed several

of the Canada Council's theatre section before arriving in Vancouver. His expanding vision sees the Playhouse as an opportunity "to pass on a much larger canon both nationally and internationally." Part of this grand plan, a proposed transfer of *The Dresser* to Toronto's Royal Alexandra Theatre, did not materialize (Toronto Arts Production plans to mount its own version in the spring).

For the moment, however, keeping grassroots is more important. The only regional theatre in Canada with its own writing school, the Playhouse is a dead-



William Hurt and Robin Phillips addressing party annoyances like a colossus

established regional species threatened with English plucks, names and made theatrical iron. The laborious regimen makes the play less accessible to a non-English audience. Phillips, however, seems almost too comfortable in these milieus, which become private moments instead of being directed journeys at the audience. But, when the two play off each other memorably, their year of collaboration at Stratford do produce real theatre magic simply because it all seems so effortless.

The Dresser is typical of the aggressive showmanship displayed by Walter Leorney, the new artistic director of the Vancouver Playhouse. Leorney's experience of Canadian theatre has spanned the nation's New Zealand, who transformed Theatre New Brunswick into a provincial institution in the early 1970s. He spent four years as head

of the Vancouver Playhouse. But a \$300,000 deficit and sharply declining attendance in a once-thriving province have made survival the key issue. "The panic here is unbelievable," says Leorney. "But theatre is always on the edge, so we should be well equipped to deal with it." For the director, that means doubling the number of plays offered to make the public's acquaintance with the range of Canadian (The Trespasser, recent hits *Old Days*, *Myself Again*, and *Canadian Winter*). *From Walrus to Whore Boat*, as well as before-pre-curtain chats with his audience. Dreaming of a glories future for *The Dresser* and the Playhouse is all very well, but the lessons of the past are not lost on Leorney. "Whatever we do, we have to remember we are doing it here first," he says. "Everything else is just gravy."

—MARK GARNETT

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Cultural schizophrenia

JESSIMCA
By Maria Campbell, Linda Griffiths
and Paul Thompson
Directed by Paul Thompson

Jessica (Linda Griffiths) is a Métis born with the shamanistic powers of mind-reading and prophecy. As the play opens she returns to her mother in the reserves, desirous because mysterious, unassimilable forces are driving her mad. She throws open her suitcase crammed with the paraphernalia of white culture (Sally Ann clothing, a tape recorder, a copy of *Macbeth*), protesting against her Indian heritage. But the old woman, Vitale (Thomas Martin), decides that these items must be incorporated in a ritual invocation of spirits intended to integrate Jessica's soul; her high heels serve as stakes in the four corners of a blanket, and Vitale's son drives away with Walkman headphones and native seeds snatched around his neck. Jessica's patriotic spirit, a crew (Thomas Hauff), appears as a child in her memories, and the play traces her life from childhood to the present.

Based on an auto-biographical novel by Maria Campbell, this production by Saskatchewan's 25th Street Theatre marks the first collaboration of Griffiths and Paul Thompson since their hugely successful *Mosquito and Pierre*. Extensive research among Saskatchewan's Métis by both Campbell and Griffiths, the play is an ambitious attempt to portray the two cultures that have moulded Jessica. Initially, in present-day Canada, these become polarized into good and evil. Jessica is raped by Mosley, forced into prostitution to support her child and betrayed by her white boyfriend, Sam (Graham Greene) who ends up playing the white man's game—application games in return for creature comforts. Jessica also represents the female, sensitive force subversive in native culture by the white man's macho masculinity. But, as the opening scene demonstrates, her

path to transcendence does not deny her whiteness; instead, it is used to re-establish her natural powers.

When Jessica operates in the white man's mode, the writing and staging are trite and unconvincing. Because her initial dilemma is not stated strongly enough, the first act renews a familiar tale of native apposition without indicating why this story should be of special interest. Only Hauff's crew, fidgeting about in a black bandolier cap and fretting wildly about Jessica's face, re-lives the tension. But the second act takes off when Jessica begins to use her powers to help her nation and a bizarre council of animal spirits decides she should be guided by a coyote. There

are confrontations with Sam and a sympathetic white lawyer (Hauff again), who helps her run a halfway house. Griffiths successfully portrays the torment of a woman who yearns for a happy home and a fridge, complete with message pad and stick-on pencil, but whose soul is no longer her own. Although sumptuous styling, lighting and special effects heighten her psychic struggle, the ghosts of Maggie and Pierre haunt Griffiths' quick exits back and forth between sponsored frames of mind. Native audiences may not have heard of Linda Griffiths, but to white theatre audiences she is a star: the weight of her interpretive gifts is indispensible, but her performance is not sufficiently of a piece with its complex text to make them forget that fact.

Stylistically, a wolfman enters Jessica, her sudden movements alternates

everywhere around her, and the play comes full circle as she returns to Vitale. The final, ecstatic dance celebrating Jessica's acceptance of herself is not as powerful as it might have been because the play attempts too much and only partially succeeds. Perhaps it is impossible to dramatize adequately the schizophrenic cultural dilemma of the Métis, but Jessica shows that the effort is itself a work of art, if erratic.

—MARK GARNETT



Griffiths: Métis dilemma

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No story here, boss

By Allan Fotheringham

The myth abroad is the land, passed by the cognoscenti and close merchants, is that the country is in political turmoil, due to collapse into a shuddering little heap at any moment. If you listen to them, you get the impression that Canada is just one shade shy of Poland or Lebanon in the realm of stability. Those of us who are bushy-eyed and bright-minded optimists know different. The country is overextended with stability, in fact. Lack of drama is a major weakness. Taken as a whole, the populace is seeking out politicians who act as bad warmers, security blankets, pacifiers. If you look at Canada as a whole, it is in about as much turmoil as a pound of fudge.

The reification of Alberta as our own little Alberta is the most recent example of this cult. Gee gets the sense of Alberta voters, their eyes on all those oil-rich Trudeauists, defiantly snarling: "Come to us by leaving the Western Canada and Canada and by God's sake, the long list of the bonus坐ists deserved oblivion. Gee also almost gets the sense, in Ottawa, of a mild disappointment that the inherent belief is coming at-the-frontier was not confirmed.

The Central Canada media mafia always does exaggerate first signs of separation, like note, into major epidemics—merely because they cover the hinterland only superficially, as deep are they in their own bath water. Alberta has settled back into what it most enjoys: a rather fatherly government presence (but unlike the Japanese model) that acts as a partner with business and does not much interfere with the lives of ordinary citizens—set-backs are an issue like gas control in the United States. A political opposition is seen as a nuisance. Alberta is solidly here.

Outward, as always, optic for safety. With Beaufort's Bill Davis in the majority government he is long dead, the longest-reigning democracy in the Western World proceeds along its astute path. When challenged as bush-plant, Americans shrug with the reversion and the Neanderthal auto industry stranglehold on its trajectory—Ontario simply reverts more conservatism. It is like a woodchuck burrowing deeper through Bill under like a Buddha through his pine

Confederation. It is resolutely Tory and will defend (in addition to itself) to Premier Brian Mulroney's last temper tantrum.

The flagged hamlet, as can be seen, does not want. Eight of the 10 provinces have settled into long-term relationships with their constituents. The only real outlier is in those fabled mountains, British Columbia and Quebec. Bill Bennett, lacking the innate political savvy of his father, is in a constant swirl of election fever, heat by strike and ruled by opinion polls.

The Parti Québécois is politically secure but to be set by economic problems that its biggest threat comes from its own hard-core fringe which berates a newly pragmatic René Lévesque for showing separation to the lack harem in the stratosphere of staying in power.

Overall, there is no turmoil in the land. There is only tumult in Ottawa. There is only countrywide distrust of a discredited national government that hangs on when it has no credibility left.



for at least five years while the shell-shocked New Democratic Party attempts to renew itself. As early as spring noted that it was hell game over when he saw that the Tory campaign workers wore blue jeans and the vice people were in three-piece suits. Father Devine is as a high roll, with a promise that has the most balanced economy of all 10. He's as safe as horses. No turmoil here.

Next door, in slow-gated Manitoba, the nation's New Democrats of Howard Pawley are just into their new and pre-emptive campaign. The party is in a bind, as the most personal of all Canadian premiers, has just been acclaimed in massive fashion by New Brunswick voters, most of whom would not know what to do with their eyes at their feet if they were actually in his presence. New Brunswick went for the devil it knows—and who occasionally spends some time in the pews. No matter. In these days of our peril, voices are going for stability, and Heddle's Tories had an advantage they are not Liberals. This previous slogan, has no worry about political ascent for another long term.

Now Stein is content under the Tory rule of John Bradman, viewing Ottawa after an easy foreign tour of steam and ferment, Canadian cardinal, like overripe steaks. No revolution here. And the tall Prince Edward Island sleeps the sleep of the just under Premier Jean Lesage. I believe the same is kindly insomnia of a province that serves as the mascot of Newfoundland has outlived it is resolutely Tory and will defend (in addition to itself) to Premier Brian Mulroney's last temper tantrum.

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